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Pacifism and the Pacifist

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I

The pacifist holds to two powerful conceptions upon which are based his attitude toward the whole question of war. They may properly be called his major premises, leading up to a conclusion, and the conclusion is, to many, the chief puzzling and inconceivably foolish plank of his platform. For he does antagonize the majority of men despite his apparent strength of motive, honesty of purpose, and logic of reasoning. It is because he has presumed upon their ideals of right and of wrong; because he has forced from them an acknowledgment here and an admission there, which singly seem innocently permissible to them and eminently desirable to him, but which collectively come to possess a colossal power. This he wields strategically in building up his premises, and with the granting of them, it is the world-old story of a logical conclusion which only the maker of the syllogism will accept. The reason for such illogical action on the part of most men is not that they are illogical creatures, or that they are over-obstinate. Rather is it that they have been born and reared, have studied and played, have married and died, all in an atmosphere which has been conducive to another notion than the one the pacifist would require. Probably a little subordinate to the influence of such surroundings, is to be noted the before-mentioned fact that the data upon which the premises of the pacifist are built have not been thoroughly examined or carefully considered by the non-pacifist, but have been wrung from him in moments of charity. These, in times of normalcy, he retracts; he recants his tenderness, and refuses to follow them through even theo-

retically. Such are the two influences seldom permitting the man in the street to become a pacifist.

Consequently, this man in the street obtains a distorted idea of what a pacifist truly is and of the conclusion he has reached. To him the pacifist represents the type portrayed in the motion pictures of the war days of 1917-18—the mild-natured, benevolent, Bryanian old man, who met the invading hordes of a "bureaucratic north-European" nation with open arms, flowers, and words of welcome. Any one familiar with the popular shows of those recent days will readily call to mind the nature of this individual; it is thus that the pacifist is generally understood. Lately, some have grown to fear him, which is utterly different from their former disgusted toleration of a creature spineless, weak-kneed, incapable of doing anything and desirous of doing nothing. In our country today are to be found many professing a fear of him and of his doctrines, and on the other hand there are many individuals, organizations, and publications openly supporting the pacifist, and adhering to his philosophy. In the presence of much discussion pro and con, it is significant how irrelevant, how seldom honestly approached, how vague and ill-thought-out, are the results. Certainly it is a paramount duty of an intelligent citizen to refrain from such discussions until he has gone at least below the surface in this immense subject; and, more positively, when he has grasped some foundation-ideas, to promote them by a wholesome airing. Indeed, if conversant with more than purely local issues, and truly if familiar with war days, one must hear a clarion call to dig down into the very fundamentals upon which our society is based, for it is there that a study of the "causes, consequences, and cure" of war will lead him.

Having once heard this summons, and for any appreciable time listened and followed, one is ever after beckoned insistently to the study of it. It requires possibly as impartial an approach and as honest a purpose as might be imagined in the case of any one aspect of human life. The pacifist has pointed the way, and some who go with him far fear that his ideals have led him astray into impracticability,—in other words, that he has out-run his ideals. And, of course, the pacifist con-

tends that he has only followed his ideals, content with the destination to which they may carry him. Men without ideals necessarily refuse the first step, and even men of high aspirations often fail to combine and synthesize them into any such combination as the pacifist realizes. This last is often the type of man who deplores all that the pacifist deplores, but who condemns the pacifist, nevertheless, for holding the theory he himself cannot countenance.

II

After a consideration of the method by which the pacifist reaches his interesting conclusions, and of the ways in which these conclusions are received in various quarters, it is now in order to delve more deeply into the mysteries of his beliefs. It is to be emphasized that the vast majority of anti-pacifists are totally unacquainted with the claims and positions of these same pacifists. It is true that to the majority of anti-pacifists the subject of pacifism is mainly conceived of as an object of fun-making and ridicule, except at stated intervals of fervent patriotism when intolerance and hatred are in the saddle. It cannot be that both these attitudes are correct, and it appears that probably neither is. The question may well be put: what is a pacifist? Any one could give an answer, but it would hardly satisfy unless it went specifically and in detail into a consideration of the following pertinent questions: Is his motive honest? How does he approach his study of the war question? What are the major premises and the ultimate conclusions of his process of reasoning? A study of such questions ought to reward all effort attendant thereto, and may lead to an answer to this final question: What reception does the conclusion of the pacifist require in the mind of all thinking men?

In the first place, then, the pacifist seems to go about his study with an honest motive. Leaving aside the men who are pacifists of the parlor variety, and men who are faddists by nature, e.g., those who are ever ready to see or hear some new thing, it appears that the men who are the backbone of the pacifist cult are sincerely endeavoring to realize definite ideals. As we would leave out of consideration in a discussion of any subject those on the outer fringe who will probably dangle from the edge of another idea tomorrow, so it would be worth while

in the discussion of pacifism to take into consideration chiefly those leaders of public thought and those conversant with world conditions. And I should hold to the thesis that men of this type, men to whom pacifists look up, men whose writings contain the gist of pacifist programs, are men of sincere motives and men to whom the world could well afford to give earnest heed.

Thus the pacifist does approach his subject, in the main, with sincerity of purpose and the desire to achieve the welfare of all men. He goes further. He bases his positions on facts which seem to demand certain definite interpretations. To him all men are capable of attaining depths of moral character and heights of idealism. In other words, the pacifist has an abiding trust in the goodness of the mass of the people. He need not be of the socialist turn of mind, which would entrust the management of affairs to the people on short notice; but he would have faith in their inherent capacities for good; and he would put the case against war before them confident that a just verdict would be returned. In the final analysis, he believes that the few men *in authority* very probably may be further in the wrong than the body of the people, and certainly further wrong than certain select individuals who have honest hearts and minds trained in that which works for the benefit of the people. To be exact, the pacifist would not countenance any theory of the divine right of kings, or of rulers in general. To him they are in authority not through any principle of the survival of the fittest, or by any policy of natural selection; but more likely from a clever or diabolical (whichever way one looks at it) self-assertiveness and desire to dominate. The approach of the pacifist to the subject dear to his heart might be said to be that of hope.

The first premise of the pacifist's syllogism is that wars are not accidental but are due to quite definite causes. What is different and peculiar to the pacifist is his faith that his own country may just as often be in the wrong on a point as in the right; he would never give adherence to the tenet of that quasi-patriotism which finds utterance in the phrase: "My country, but right or wrong, my country still." Thus the pacifist traces the causes of war to some definite things, such as imperialism—

meaning thereby the greed for economic supremacy which compels nations to embark on expeditions of a military nature, which in turn causes them to form alliances and by underhand means use trickery here and trickery there in order to attain their selfish ends. In militarism is seen the outgrowth of alliances and secret diplomacy and the spirit of greed, and it leads to the cultivation of the war-spirit which will not endure being suppressed forever but will out in time. The result of it all is a fear-complex whereby every nation is afraid of its shadow. Fear is resorted to in order to provide preparation for defense; imperialism uses this defense-preparation for entirely different purposes; militarism delights in appropriating to itself and to its own personal designs the materials meant for the patriotic cause of self-defense. Fear must be accentuated to increase the effectiveness of a nation's war efforts, and propaganda of the basest sort is justified by reference to the end in view; even as the people of France, and Germany, and Russia, were all fearing each other, were all fighting for the preservation of their own hearth stones, as each saw it, until the Russian peasants could be deceived no longer and with the instigation of the Bolshevik leaders refused longer to remain in the trenches. France and Germany both came to realize the presence in each country of thousands waiting for the word to lay down their arms. The ordinary man looks to the immediate causes of war and is satisfied; the pacifist probes deeper. And it must be admitted that he has a great array of facts on his side of the question, and much argument to uphold his contention that wars are often waged over insignificant approximate causes, while the real evil is so deep-seated and complicated that in the determination of it, rarely is any nation wholly acquitted.

III

After pointing out the causes of wars in general and of certain wars in particular, the pacifist looks to the aftermath of specific ones. Here is both his second premise, and one of the strongest planks of his platform. Probably he is an extremist in his stand, but nevertheless he points out some actual conditions which, he claims, warrant his conclusion that wars are futile—at least, that any war at the present time or in the future will be so far out of place and unnecessary that it will be, in reality, both futile and stupid.

The pacifist looks at the so-called economic advantages accruing to the victor in the division of the spoils of war; as when the vanquished nation is deprived of its over-seas trade to a large extent, or when its dependent colonies are handed over to the victors; as when specific money privileges in trade rights or in indemnities are accorded to the fortunate winner. He counts up, as nearly as he can, the entire gains whereby the victorious nation is adjudged more fortunate than the loser, and he balances over against these what he considers the losses attendant upon and resulting from the waging of wars. To him the overbalancing of the latter is overwhelming, and this leads him to doubt the reality of the profits possible to either combatant.

Enumerating these latter disadvantages of war, he notes the tremendous losses in life, of men slaughtered in their prime, of women and children undergoing tragic sufferings which will mark the whole future course of their lives. He doubts that it is anything save a quite futile waste of lives. You see, he has determined that wars are fought just as often as not over insignificant affairs, are fought by nations having an equal hand in the origin of the perplexing conditions and equally blameworthy; he has looked at the accomplishments of war and has grown impatient and disgusted with the enormity of the losses as compared with the gains; and it is not difficult to understand his mental reaction in condemning as futile all war.

But the pacifist does not stop with an enumeration of the loss of life in war; he considers the material losses in energy, in money costs, in property damages; he views the lowering of moral standards in war-time, and the consequent universal decline in moral and religious interests and ideals. These latter have a decided effect upon the future. In the first place, there is ever present the belief that no war has yet succeeded in ending wars, but that the seeds of other wars have been sown far and wide. Hatred and fear and distrust have only been heightened, while nations have been put in bondage to other nations for the misdeeds of groups of individuals. Then there exist the possibilities of economic disturbances, political unrest, and social upheavals in the various countries most sorely stricken by war's ravages.

IV

Finally, the pacifist comes to the position that war has proved itself a failure in accomplishing any thing comparable to the losses attendant upon it. His conclusion of the whole matter is that war, as a means of settling international disputes, is an ineffective means, and in addition, is a relic of barbarism, and as such, fit only to be discarded by civilized man. His conclusion is definite and thoroughgoing, and cannot be set aside with a wave of the hand. In truth, he condemns war as inherently and essentially a supreme violation of the highest and ideal way of life. Secondly, he regards war as an ineffective means of advancing and promoting the realization of these ideals, but indeed as self-defeating in its very nature. With his faith in the ultimate triumph of good, the pacifist holds that the "absolute repudiation of war by individuals, groups, and corporate bodies is the most effective way of compelling governments to abandon the war system and to discover more adequate means of securing safety and justice."

The quoted lines contain the corner stone of many who profess pacifism as a faith. They would abandon the war system and endeavor to secure more adequate means of guaranteeing safety and justice, because they have come to consider war as an exceedingly rusty tool, incapable of doing what it is supposed to do. War, to this party of the pacifists, which would number H. G. Wells, Charles W. Eliot, along with the guiding spirits of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in North America, and the leaders of sociology in an increasing proportion of universities, is no longer able to advance the cause of justice—because it is simply a token of the savage mind. As civilized man has abolished the duel, so the pacifist would do away with war. To continue longer employing such a hideous contraption for deciding differences between nations, would be to betray our trust as enlightened people to advance the world some further along its upward climb. Thus, war must be relegated to the scrap heap because it fails to produce the desired effects, and since it must inevitably be self-defeating in its results, and finally because it is no longer worthy of mankind's approbation even were the above complaints not true of it.

War's past, they assert, must indeed be considered as dead, and it must not have a future, or else twentieth-century man himself cannot lay claim to any degree of progress or culture over the crude and uncouth Cro-Magnard man to whom physical force was the ideal weapon to be resorted to in every manner of differences or conflict. This final view of war positively intensifies the pacifist's surety in the righteousness of his decision to repudiate war altogether, and to refuse to have any part in its prosecution.

IV

So far it would seem that the pacifist position has been to a certain degree an entirely negative and destructive criticism. The pacifist himself would assert that the old building and the accumulated rubbish must always be cleared away before a new structure can be put up. He does, however, come to a truly constructive position after his denouncement of war and his demand for a wholesale repudiation of it by individuals and nations. Without going into detail, his position involves the abandonment of economic imperialism; it requires disarmament as a means toward lessening the possibilities of war; it advocates "open covenants, openly arrived at," in place of the old secret diplomacy (or diabolically clever trickery, which this signifies to many). The positively constructive measures the pacifist advocates include such international processes as the outlawry of war, whereby any nation resorting to its use would be straightway condemned by all other nations, shut off from all trade privileges and diplomatic connections, and so isolated that it would be forced to bow to the enlightened conscience of a pacific-world. A world court would be provided for the settling of disputes, acting as a substitute for war and for putting civilized methods of settling individual differences into the procedure of nation dealing with nation. Some sort of league would be the common meeting ground of all nations, where regulations for the good of all peoples everywhere could be discussed, and measures taken to relieve bad and to promote ideal conditions.

The pacifist would base all these measures of an international nature, in brief, upon the creation of an international

mind—a mind that looks deeply into the causes of war, that sees in war a futile method of reaching solutions in disputes between nations, and that condemns it as a means of realizing such purposes. This mind must transcend national boundaries in its good-will toward all nationalities; it must be prophetic, with also the courage to achieve its dreams; it must be a mind that thinks deeply and sees clearly and acts courageously—and upon this new mind, in the final analysis, depends the prevention of war. How this mind is to be developed, how the processes of international dealings are to be constructed, is a question that would admit of much difference of opinion. That both are necessary, is the foundation stone upon which pacifism is laid.

V

The pacifist has so much opposition, however, and the very word *pacifism* is so much in taboo, that even though one agrees with the beliefs of this system he shrinks oftentimes from joining its ranks. The average man, to whom the truths of the aforementioned emphasis of the pacifist are as clear and self-evident as can be, is even hesitant over committing himself to any position until he has stated his reservations and the exceptions he would take to certain general attitudes and points of view entertained by the pacifist. One can see how he may believe in pacifism, in all the essential elements of the world's implications, and yet not join the pacifists, or even be in accord with the rank and file of pacifists.

Are there any vital objections to the mind of the pacifist as distinct from the theory of pacifism itself? Many would point to facts which seem to imply an affirmative answer. The pacifist (always speaking, of course, of the majority of earnest pacifists, always trying to get their true attitudes) is a little afraid that men will be harmed by struggle, he is slightly of the opinion that struggle in itself is a bad thing. He would rather the world should die of monotony than of conflict. Accordingly, he condemns war in toto with never an idea that for some individuals war is a life-saver, bringing out all the latent powers and good characteristics of their being. While war can never be approved of from such a point of view, it

can neither be totally condemned from the same point of view, while such exceptions do exist. And, above all, the pacifist must steer clear of a position which commits him to even an equivocal stand toward struggle and fight and conflicts in their non-military aspects.

The next tendency of the pacifist is at once one which gains favor at the first, but which, upon reflection, destroys all that has been built up. This might, for lack of a more suitable word, be called the spirit of martyrdom, so characteristic of some. It shows itself in expressions of self-pity, grows into a spirit of intolerance for alien ideas, and finds fruit in the sublime assurance that the pacifist is the possessor of the keys of life and immortality. And though this state of mind will often rob opposition, and even persecution, of its sting, it will seldom prove an efficient means of advancement for any cause. For men learn to depreciate anything of this nature, and far more is lost in the end than is gained.

Materialism is a word of many connotations and thus means practically nothing until further qualified. The pacifist deals too much in material terms, too often balances off one scale full of deaths and wounds and indemnities against the other scale of possible mental and spiritual benefits attendant upon a war. In the end, war cannot be condemned from any point of view which deals only with losses, and those chiefly material. If you attempt to do so, you also allow the same argument to be used in showing the foolhardiness of other actions. For instance, no one could defend parental care or motherhood from such an attitude. The losses, worries, anxieties of each would preclude the chance of any counterbalancing of the joys of such, that is from the outsider's way of looking at it. Yet the idea of sacrifice is entirely alien to the thoughts of those to whom duty means much, to those even whose conception of duty is wholly subordinate to higher motives. If the pacifist really means that he is willing to trust the final verdict of action in any circumstance to an enlightened social conscience, then he must take into consideration that there do exist in the world certain moral and spiritual values for which men must ever be ready to give all that they have and are, or else become unworthy of the name of men.

The strongest point of attack upon the pacifist in his interpretation of pacifism, is of a philosophic nature. His conception of pacifism seems to be often that of an end rather than as a means. The one big endeavor of his is to convert men to his faith, as Cortez baptized a thousand Aztecs in a day. There is no panacea for the international evils of mankind, nor is there any sympathy for utopian schemes of realizing the perfect world order, and this makes the pacifist very illogical and foolish in his attempts to convince men to the contrary. And, despite his utterances, oftentimes to the contrary, his actions speak so extremely loud that Emerson would say he could not hear his words. It is a basal principle of thought that extremes are generally evil, that it is the happy medium, the absence of panaceas, which must be sought; and upon its finding depends the greatest possible value of the conclusion. It is a wonderful ability some men have of doing nothing more nor less than compromising—taking the good here and the good there, eliminating as much of evil as possible, and synthesizing the whole into a composite of truth. As the pacifist attains to the measure of this true philosopher he will reach the pinnacle of his achievement; but as yet he falls short to a degree that at any rate deprives him of his full influence.

VI

An impartial student of pacifism and the pacifist is perhaps chiefly interested in obtaining a rational decision thereupon. The objections have been spoken of, some of them analyzed rather at length. What is the result? Are the faults of the pacifist sufficient to deprive pacifism of its value, that is, do they correctly interpret pacifism? Many reply both ways; some claim the fault is wholly one of interpretation; the student must draw his own conclusions. Some claim he will find the faults only upon the fringes of the subject, that is, that they are defects in methods and interpretations and matters of personal failures rather than fundamental falacies in the system of thought.

Little doubt can exist that the pacifist is an extremist; his "radicalism" consists both in the ideas and theories he holds, and in the steps to which he goes to put these ideas and theories

into force. As is true of all extremists, there are apt to be many and serious faults in his position, and in the case of the pacifist, there is little doubt that his position is faulty in many particulars. The point of interest is that the faults in his ideas are conceived of as rendering them unfit for acceptance in the eyes of some, while to the pacifist, they seem only the inevitable accompaniments of a pioneer position which daringly chooses to run counter to popular opinion. Whether these distinctions, then, are concerned with the very core of his stand, or whether, as he says, they merely touch the outer fringe, it becomes a matter of importance that a student of pacifism recognize them for what they are, and study them for the lessons they may contain. With the pacifist's contribution of facts, men must not dispute, and certainly many of these facts are significant enough to constitute a challenge to all men of world interests.

And this does not mean that the pacifist should be cast aside, either as a co-worker or as a brother in arms. Each student must decide for himself what shall be his own attitude. If he has seen a little clearer into what pacifism means, if he has come to admire in some measure the man who stakes all upon ideals, then he must have decided that for himself, anything less than an unselfish world view is wholly despicable and indeed suicidal—and his decision that such an attitude is unworthy must be the cornerstone of his faith rather than his knowledge that it is suicidal. Pacifism can mean to men variously: a by-word, an example, a faith. Upon its connotation depends much—upon the elimination of the first alternative, perhaps all.

Ministers' Sons

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Recent studies by Mr. Kassel and by Professor Vischer bring up once more the old problem of the vagaries of clerical heredity.¹ Proverbially, ministers' sons are grandchildren of the Devil; and general, off-hand observations of one's neighbors does, on the whole, bear out this unflattering opinion. Yet, on the other hand, as all authorities agree, ministers' sons achieve eminence several times more frequently than the number of cleric fathers in any community entitles them to do. General observation of one's neighbors bears out this opinion also.

Concerning this latter fact at least, there is no manner of doubt. The clergymen in an average community are about four-tenths of one per cent of the fathers there. But Kassel's analysis of Cattell's standard list of the world's thousand most famous individuals shows thirty-nine children of the manse. That is ten times as many, proportionally, as castle and cottage and manor house have sent forth. Vischer, who being a geologist has naturally no bias in favor of the cloth, finds that behind each half-dozen names in *Who's Who*, there stand, on the average, fifteen clergymen, twenty-seven members of other learned professions, sixty-two business men, five hundred and fifty farmers, twelve hundred and fifty artisans, and thirty-seven thousand and five hundred unskilled laborers. Or in other words, in this land of free competition and equal opportunity, the clergy put their sons into the biographical dictionaries more than twice as frequently as other professional men, more than four times as frequently as men in business, thirty-five times as often as farmers, and twenty-four hundred times as often as day laborers. Ellis's famous study of the sources of British genius shows in a social system more rigid, apparently, than our own, an even weightier contribution from the church. Eighteen and one-half per cent, virtually a fifth, of

¹ Heredity and Genius, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, April, 1924. Introduction to "Who's Who," 1924-5, p. 29, and *Literary Digest*, Sept. 27, 1924, p. 35.

gifted Britons are out of the "nobility and gentry," the "good families," and the "upper classes." But nearly seventeen per cent are the offspring of the clergy, against only seven per cent that are limbs of the law, and less than four per cent whose fathers practiced medicine. Or as Ellis himself puts it, the contribution of ministers of religion to British genius has been "enormous." "In mere numbers," he remarks, "the clergy can seldom have equalled the butchers or bakers in their parishes, yet only two butchers and four bakers are definitely ascertained to have produced eminent children as against 139 parsons. Even if we compare the church with the other professions with which it is most commonly classed, we find that the eminent children of the clergy considerably outnumber those of lawyers, doctors, and army officers put together."

Here, then, is a long standing problem that nobody has ever quite solved. The clergy are good men. Yet, notoriously, their children are devil's brats. They are not in general, as anybody can see, abler than lawyers and doctors and business men. In fact, a jury of average laymen nowadays would probably bring in a prompt and unanimous verdict that the clergy, taken as they run, are not nearly up to the lay level. And yet, on the broad average, everywhere the matter has been carefully tested, the Old 'Un's grandchildren "arrive" in numbers that are altogether out of proportion to their expectation. It's one of the outstanding anomalies of human heredity—naturally, the sociologists, and the clergy themselves, and the rest of the "environmentalists" have been rubbing it into the scientific world.

But all carefully done experimental and statistical work on the sources of both animal and human characteristics has pointed toward heredity rather than environment as the thing that counts. "A good [family] tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit." If clergyman's sons go to the demnition bowwows oftener than, statistically, they ought, then there is some latent evil in the clerical blood. And if, on the other hand, they bring forth good fruit on the average a hundred fold, when their fathers score only sixty, then the family seed was better than it looked. The problem is to find the evil and the good that does not show.

Galton himself, who was the pioneer in the whole field of human heredity for mental and moral qualities, solved ingeniously that half of the problem that concerns Satan's grandchildren. Galton points out, in effect, that men who are outwardly and indistinguishably "good," are nevertheless, inwardly, of two quite different sorts. Some men, "once born" in William James's phrase, are born naturally virtuous. They don't like the taste of beer; and tobacco makes them ill. They are too clearheaded to deceive themselves as to the practical consequences if they covet their neighbors' goods or make the sweet eyes at their neighbors' wives; and they are temperamentally incapable of being swept off their feet by any sudden impulse. Such men do not become great saints—but neither do they land in jail. It is they that, mostly, do the world's work. Such men, in general, marry wives like themselves; and their offspring duplicate the "mid-parent." It is all according to formula, and there is nothing to be explained.

But there is another type of good man who is naturally bad. Whatever is bad for him, that he ardently desires; and the desire when it comes, comes like the whirlwind and the flood. Such men are never "merely moral," and if they follow the narrow way, it is only the grace of God or the fear of hell that keeps them there. Such men, if they are to remain virtuous, must of necessity turn to religion. That is what, among other things, religions are for.

"Which has not showed weak wills how much they can?"

Which does not enable "twice born men," seeking goodness with strong crying and tears, to live better lives to the end than their native endowment of instinctive goodness would alone make possible. Compare, for example, Socrates, "so steady in his self-control that he never chose that which was most pleasant rather than that which was most wise," with St. Paul, in whom, "when I would do good, evil is present with me, so that I cannot do the thing that I would." And Augustine, if he told the truth in his *Confessions*, was of the same type. But hunger and thirst after righteousness unaccompanied by any marked native talent for it, leads straight toward a black coat. Nowhere else is a man so buttressed against moral lapse. In

no other vocation does a feeble spine get so little chance to buckle under its load.

This type seems to be rather common in the ministry. Sometimes it is especially sympathetic with human weakness, feeling its own limitations and knowing at first hand the sources of power. Sometimes, on the contrary, it is especially harsh in its moral judgments, whistling to keep up its own courage. Certainly, one cannot listen to sermons on natural depravity and original sin without feeling that the preachers know what they are talking about. "But for the grace of God, there goes John Bunyon," is the cry of a pretty common sort of good and useful man.

Clergymen who go wrong—when they do not first go insane—must be virtually of this type. One reads of their doings all too frequently in the daily press; and one is tempted to set them down as hypocrites. Yet they probably never are. They have tried, and have come as near to trying their best as the rest of us do. They had moral fervor in excess of their moral responsibilities and their moral stamina. They haven't quite made the grade. Mostly, however, they do stick it out to the end; and nobody but their wives ever know how hard sledding they found it.

But their sons inherit only what their fathers are, not what they tried to be. And if they chance to take their sire's moral limitations without the desire to transcend them, then they become black sheep. Everything, in short, is essentially like the appearance of red hair among the offspring of black-haired parents. Most of us are really red-headed; but the red pigment is masked by the brown and shows only in a strong light. But sometimes the "Mendelian segregation" drops out the parental brown. Then the child is red-haired. Really, he is no more red-haired than one of his parents—but it shows more. I know, for example, a case where a negro woman, apparently nearly half white, is married to a typical Swede; and they actually have the red-haired child that is theoretically possible. In the same fashion, the grandchild of the Devil is no more devilish than his parents. He is merely less angelic to offset it.

Such, in quite different language, is Galton's account of one-half the irregularity of cleric inheritance. Galton was, of course, long pre-Mendelian. Nevertheless, if one chanced to be interested in Mendel, the usual genetic formulas fit very well the Devil's grandchild case. Let "G" be the average and decent amount of natural goodness; and "R" be the decent and average amount of concern for religion that makes one want to be better than he is. The ordinary citizen, then, neither saint nor sinner, will be the GgRr form; GGRR is a sort of person we do not often see; and ggrr the sort we look for in state's prison. In the same way, for black and red pigments in the hair, BbRr is ordinary slightly reddish brown; bbRR is the bright red; bbRr is light red or fairly strong blond, the matter really being decidedly more complex than these simple formulas; bbrr is the "tow"; and on the other end of the series, BBrr is the dull blue-black without trace of red.

The "moral man" who is not in the least religious, (as often they are not), has then, crudely, the genetic formula GGrr. If he marries a GGrr wife, the two cannot, theoretically, have anything but GGrr children; and this, on the whole, does agree with general experience. But, of course, goodness, like hair color, isn't quite so simple a matter in practice as in diagram.

Galton's two clerical types will, then, be about GGRR and ggRR, "duplex" either in goodness or in piety, but not in both. If both the minister and his wife are ggRR, their "segregated" germplasms can be only gR, all the children will therefore be also ggRR, and the family should in theory always breed true. Practically, this seems to be commonly the fact. But a GGRR parent, who is really a superior sort, will nevertheless have half his or her germ cells Gr. So a ggRR + GGRR couple will have half their children GgRr, neither especially good nor especially pious. This also seems to fit the facts of common observation.

But suppose our ggRR clergyman marries a GgRr wife—or what is the same thing, suppose a devout but somewhat flighty ggRR woman marries a good average GgRr man—the germinal formulas of the GgRr partner will have to include all the four possible combinations, GR, Gr, gR, and gr. But the gr germ, with the ggRR spouse, will give ggRr—and a

ggRr child is grandchild of the Devil, all quite in accord with genetic theory.

However, all these formulas work also backwards, so that the mating above, a ggRR wife and a GgRr man, will give also a GgRR son, who will be an uncommonly good sort, and attribute his goodness, quite erroneously, to his mother's prayers. One can ring the changes amusingly.

On the whole, then, the occasional failure to inherit parental virtues in clerical families, proves on examination to be the exception that proves the rule. Let us see now whether something the same sort of analysis will not discover that the other unexplained departure from expectation can likewise be brought under our modern formularies. This, unlike the other half of the problem, seems not yet to have been essayed.

Our problem, in lowest terms, is this: Why are sons of clergymen better men than their fathers from two to four times as frequently as are the sons of other professional persons and of business men on about the same social, mental, and economic level?

Let us concede at the start that the difference is in part environmental. Environment, apparently, never makes brains; and it makes character much more rarely than we commonly think. Still, given brains and character by natural inheritance, the life of a clerical home with its plain living and high thinking, with its defences against ruinous error, is precisely the place where, if any young fellow has any good in him by nature, nurture will bring it to fruition. Nevertheless, the effect of parental prayers and parental example cannot be at all the whole story, since, notoriously, these do not suffice to keep some feet in the straight path.

Moreover, a part of the statistical superiority of clergyman's children is merely statistical. All studies in the field thus far have taken the problem arithmetically—so many fathers: so many sons—assuming that all families are, on the average, of the same size. This is not the fact. The clergy marry younger than other professional men: and they sometimes have conscientious scruples against birth control. Moreover, clergymen can take a chance on another child as other men cannot, because their children are looked out for in vari-

ous ways—scholarships and the like—as other men's are not. For various reasons, then, clerical families do tend to run a little large. It's like the ancient riddle, "Why do white sheep eat more than black ones?" Children of the manse "arrive" more frequently, in part, because there are more of them.

This, at most, however, will take up perhaps a quarter of the clerical advantage—and we have eight to sixteen quarters to account for. The secret of these probably lies in a principle on which the great Darwin laid special stress, but which, for some reason, his successors have a good deal passed over. Darwin held that differentiation among human races—which even the most thoroughgoing of special creationists has to account for somehow—the separation of various groups of animals, and perhaps even the origin of the human race itself, is sought in what it is nowadays the fashion to call "selective mating." We err, Darwin points out, in running our pedigrees so exclusively through the male line. One great factor in the character of a man's children is the sort of family he marries into. In short, the reason why the clergy have exceptionally able sons is simply that they tend to marry uncommonly able women.

To be sure, there is no possible way to test this by statistics or by measurement. But let anybody look around him! Is there any one of the higher vocations, law, medicine, politics, business, where wives are so often and so obviously the equals and the superiors of their husbands? For this, there are probably a good many reasons. For one, there is no profession, not even diplomacy, where professional success is so much in a wife's hands—and head—as in the ministry. A lawyer or a business man may take on almost any domestic load—marry his cook if he likes, as Lord Erskine did. But a wrong wife breaks a clergyman forthwith. And on the other hand, who does not know parsons not a few whose wives have carried them along to levels appreciably beyond anything that their own efforts could have attained? Who does not know clergymen who could have gone a great deal farther, if only their wives had pushed them a little more?

Now the clergy themselves, being sensible men, know all this perfectly well—and they act accordingly. While other

young fellows are marrying looks and money and social connections, the clerics are marrying brains and character. To be sure, this is not by any means entirely from enlightened self interest, but in large part the natural inclination of a serious minded and intelligent man. But there is the obvious fact. One does not see either divinity students or bishops picking wives out of the chorus.

Curiously, too, a young clergyman has a chance to marry better in proportion to his own personal qualities than other men can. Socially, he belongs to no class; and he goes freely into homes as most men cannot. One's banker or one's physician or one's attorney may be the best of fellows, but they are not expected to drop in for tea with one's wife on an afternoon, nor put in evenings hanging Christmas greens with one's daughters. Moreover, with the call to preach, go of necessity most of the qualities that make a man pleasing socially; while many most admirable young women do admire the clerical type of man and are attracted by their side of the clerical life, from which lighter natured women are repelled. Besides, the clergy, by marrying young, get the girls who will not risk waiting for laymen.

Altogether, therefore, for these reasons and others that will readily occur to anyone, a clergyman has a decidedly better chance to give his sons an uncommon mother than have other equally well endowed young men. So the chief reason, one guesses, why the sons do well is that they take after her.

This idea that the whole matter is merely another case of selective mating, gets a curious side light from some of Ellis's English data. One may be pretty sure that in a maritime country like great Britain, with no large standing army, naval men and other sailors have commonly outnumbered many times over the personnel of the army. And yet the British army, as a rule, has contained about two and a half times as many fathers of eminent men and women than have all the British ships that have sailed the Seven Seas. Now let anyone answer for himself whether young soldiers or young sailors of the officer class are most in evidence at teas and parties, have most time off during working hours, have, in brief, most of the same advantage in picking wives that the clergy enjoy? In fact, British

army officers are, in proportion to their smaller numbers, very much like British clergymen in the eminence of their offspring. It may well be for the same reason.

And finally, lawyers and physicians, both in England and here, are in general not very different numerically. One cannot think that, in general, either profession has contained conspicuously abler men than the other. But the eminent sons of lawyers outnumber between two and three times the eminent sons of medical men. Which, in youth, up to this century have been as a whole the more presentable socially?

In brief, then, all this anomalous performance of ministers' sons—and presumably of the deacons' daughters that the proverb links with them—is just one more case where the complexities of human society obscure the simple principles of inheritance which are clear enough in the lower animals and the plants. But the basal laws of natural inheritance are the same for all living things. Darwinian selection, Mendelian segregation; these are the two keys alike to the qualities of the new plants in next spring's seedman's catalog, to the distribution of the names in the next edition of *Who's Who*, and to the next good man's son who goes wrong.

But, of course, all living things are vastly more complicated than any formula.

Japanese Indigenous Christianity

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Indigenous churches in Japan have progressed more rapidly and to a further degree than those of any other section of the non-Christian world. Hence the missionary world—both at the home bases and in the fields of operation—has given close attention to the experiments which have been made in this direction. Japan has in a sense been the working laboratory, and experiments made here have been used as bases of work in other fields.

Various causes have operated in Japan to bring the indigenous churches further along than has been the case elsewhere. Preëminent among these has been the adoption of western culture. No people in recent or ancient times have made such rapid changes in the external forms of their civilization as have the Japanese during the past seventy years. Almost in a generation the full range of western civilization has been transplanted into Japanese soil. More than any other Oriental country she has adapted herself to the life of the new world in which she lives. It is to be expected, therefore, that the nation which has progressed with such rapidity and thoroughness to a western type of social organization should have first and most thoroughly taken to herself advanced forms of western church organization.

This promptness with which Japan has modernized herself has brought her into a curious relationship to the rest of the Orient. Her leadership in the East is unquestioned, but the grounds on which she has made her advance are seriously questioned by India and China. In these great nations the contention has been made that Japan has advanced by sacrificing her own national inheritance and adopting a foreign type of organization, life and thought. Hence when Japan meets some rebuff at the hands of nations whose equal she considers herself, her Oriental neighbors are not slow to point out that she should rather have cultivated her own type of civilization.

Japan's reply to this type of criticism is that whatever she has taken has been run through the crucible of Japanese thought processes and is essentially different from what she took originally. This is a valid defense and history bears it out, for in the past the Japanese have taken Chinese culture and learning, Buddhist religion, and certain Korean ideas, and by making them over in their own peculiar way have brought forth an unmistakably Japanese result. Again, nothing is more distinctive of Japan than her patriotism, an intense loyalty to the Japanese state as represented by the ruling house. The native religion of Japan, Shinto, is today little more than emperor worship, or state loyalty, and one who would understand Japan at home or abroad must understand this sense of blind devotion to Japan and all her interests.

These various features of Japanese national character have been of great influence in shaping the course of Christianity and its external organization in Japan. Along with western culture Japan received Christianity, and in the first twenty years of her contact with the rest of the world she adopted a policy of toleration of Christianity which later manifested itself in a religious liberty clause in her national constitution. But after Christianity had made rapid advances, so rapid that some missions on the field even as early as 1886 debated whether any further increase in their personnel would be necessary, a period of reaction set in. Japan was seeking to assimilate to herself and to make Japanese the things she had taken on through thirty years of adoption from abroad, and she set about adapting these various institutions and influences to her own peculiar needs and national character. It was in this time that the movement for the Japanizing of the government of Christian churches had its beginning, and while the last steps in the formal process were not completed until 1907, when the Japan Methodist church was organized, yet the decade from 1890-1900, commonly known as the period of reaction, practically determined that those Christian churches which were to live and thrive in Japan must be under Japanese control. And it is interesting to note that at the present time the four churches which have yielded to this sentiment contain over 70 per cent of the total Protestant Christian population of the nation, though

there are twenty-one other denominations working in the empire. The Big Four, as they are called in missionary usage, each report a membership of from twenty thousand for the smallest to thirty-five thousand for the largest, whereas the largest of the foreign governed churches reports less than ten thousand, and the majority of the remaining twenty average less than three thousand members each.¹

The Christian world at large was scarcely aware of the existence of the Christian churches in mission fields prior to the great missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The report of the commission of that conference on "The Church in the Mission Field," really first brought to the attention of Christendom the fact that there exists a whole new world of Christian life, thought, organization, and government which must be dealt with in the future as the most noteworthy product of the past century of Protestant Missionary effort. Since the Edinburgh convention it has been customary to point out that the standards for an indigenous church are that it shall be self-governing, self-propagating, and self-supporting. These standards have been generally accepted until the years since the world war, when two new standards have been advanced by thoughtful missionary students. Mr. Arthur J. Brown in post-war books and articles² sets up also the standard of "social service" for a true church. Professor William Adams Brown adds another standard in his report to the directors of Union Seminary following a tour of the mission field³ when he says that "self consciousness" should also be looked for among mission churches seeking to become independent and national. For all practical purposes, however, it will be sufficient here to accept the standards of self-government, self-propagation, and self-support as those which should be held up before the new churches of mission lands as their logical goals.

It should be clearly understood that there is not today in any mission field of the world a national church which is either completely self-supporting, or adequately self-propagating. There are only three churches in all the Japanese mission field

¹ *The Christian Movement in Japan*, 1923.

² "Rising Churches of Non-Christian Lands," and "Present Day Problems of the Church in the Mission Field," *International Review of Missions*, 1921, pp. 478-95.

³ *Modern Missions in the Far East*, p. 34.

which are truly self-governing. These are the churches in Japan which have been developed as the result of the missions of the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational bodies working in that field. The Japanese church which has been developed under the auspices of the Anglican and American Protestant Episcopal bodies is rather a union church than an independent church, for all its bishops up to the present time have been chosen by the home bodies and have been without exception non-Japanese. Since the bishop in any form of Episcopal organization is the key to the whole system, it cannot be said that the Japanese Episcopal or Anglican bodies are in reality self-governing. It is true that their local diocesan synods have considerable powers and are dominantly Japanese, but until there are Japanese bishops chosen and consecrated by Japanese electors this cannot be classed as a truly self-governing church.⁴

There is no example of a self-supporting church anywhere in the mission fields of the world except by definition and courtesy. For the Japanese churches are said to be self-supporting only by defining self-support as having been attained when a local congregation pays all its own running expenses, including the pastor's salary. However, no one of the Japanese churches under consideration has made any effort to take over the financial support of any of the necessary institutional agencies of Christianity, such as schools,—theological or otherwise—hospitals, publication agencies, etc. A western church whose schools and hospitals and charitable institutions were financed by agencies outside the church would hardly be called self-supporting, but by courtesy the term self-support in Japan and in other mission fields means only the support of the expenses of running the local church.

A second and more important qualification should be made. The so-called completely self-supporting Japanese denominations are such only by refusing to recognize as members of the denomination any local organizations which are not financially self-supporting. These bodies, for instance the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies in Japan, recognize as members of

⁴ Since this article was written native Japanese Bishops have been consecrated by the Episcopal body.

their presbyteries or associations only those organizations which receive no foreign or Japanese aid from outside the congregation itself. A congregation may be a member of the presbytery for one year and then, by failing to meet its expenses, in the next it may be dropped from the roll. It may then send observers to the regular meeting, but they are not legal members. Congregations below the line of self-support may be either under the care of the Mission or under the care of the Board of Home Missions of the native church. This double possibility is not a happy arrangement. It has been the cause of the most acute situations which have prevailed in the Japanese churches. The Presbyterian body in the past has been particularly embarrassed by controversies over the status of congregations outside the presbyteries of the Japanese body. The crux of the controversy—which continued for a number of years from 1902 to 1909—was found to be the management of funds for evangelistic work. Should the Mission administer these funds and therefore direct evangelistic work independently, or should Japanese presbyteries control all work done within their borders? The Japanese body put the matter very bluntly by adopting a definition of coöperation in which it declares that a Mission (the body of foreign missionaries) was coöperating with their body when it worked under the direction of the presbyteries (mainly Japanese in membership). This definition was a storm center for several years among the Presbyterian and Reformed bodies. Some of the older missionaries and some of the Missions refused to accept it, but the Japanese never receded or modified it until they had won their point. A great deal of correspondence took place with home boards, and some feeling was engendered. The larger boards, particularly the Presbyterian U. S. A., of the six missions coöperating with the Japanese church under the title "Council of Missions coöperating with the Church of Christ in Japan," yielded to the Japanese. Some of their own missionaries were quite hurt at the Board's conduct. Their view was best set forth by Rev. Albertus Pieters in his book *Mission Problems in Japan*. In this it is held that the missionaries opposing the definition were quite embarrassed in their debates with the Japanese when the latter pointed out that it was unusual for

missionaries not to know the mind of their own Board. The final word on this controversy was said by Dr. A. J. Brown in an article in the *International Review of Missions*⁵ in which, after visiting Japan and setting forth the position of the Board, he points out that as the Japanese had set the terms of the definition of coöperation, had never changed it, and showed no prospect of doing so, there was no other course for the Board to follow save to accept it, since it was determined upon coöperation with the Japanese body.

It should be noted in this respect, however, that since the world war a different form of coöperation has been adopted, instigated by the Japanese themselves, in which there is joint control of evangelistic work and funds by a joint committee of Mission and Church.

A quite similar situation prevails in the Congregational ranks, and there also the question of directing and administering the non-self-supporting bodies has led to much vexation. Only in 1922 was a final effort made by joint action of Mission and Church to reach some harmonious agreement on this point. Yet in this church, too, the Japanese body can be called self-supporting only by relieving it of the financial charge of weaker congregations.

A somewhat different situation prevails in the Methodist body. The Japan Methodist Church frankly takes the responsibility for its weaker congregations and counts them as full members of the conferences, even though they are aided by funds from the Japanese Church or from America. There is really no other arrangement possible under the Methodist scheme. Hence this church reports itself as being two-thirds self supporting. However, while it must bear the old onus of not being fully self-supporting, it has never had any controversy over the administration of its weaker bodies, the actual proportion of which is in reality no larger here than among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. Indeed, the Methodist policy seems to be peculiarly adapted to the needs of indigenous churches, so much so that a writer in the editorial columns of the *Japan Evangelist* in May, 1922, raised the question as to whether its freedom from controversy and its peaceful progress

⁵ "The Relation of Church and Missions in Japan," Vol. 2, pp. 674-689.

may not be traced directly to its polity. Certainly no body in Japan has showed such rapid advance, for in 1922, fifteen years after its organization, the Japan Methodist Church held second place among the Protestant Christian bodies of Japan, whereas at the time of its organization it was in fourth place. Within fifteen years it has grown from ten thousand to twenty-five thousand members, with corresponding increases in other directions.

The really vital question in regard to the indigenous churches, however, is whether they are self-propagating. Until they do reach this point foreign missions must continue, and even beyond it. In the writer's opinion we are safe in saying that a church is self-propagating not when it has sent out a few missionaries to more needy fields, nor when it has a corps of native evangelists at work in its immediate neighborhood, but when it has first taken over the support of all evangelistic work in the nation, and second, when it can be trusted to evangelize the non-Christian population of that nation within a reasonably limited time. This is at variance with a quite common view, which would declare that self-propagation is attained when a church can be trusted merely to remain alive in the land in which it has been planted in case of the withdrawal of all foreign contacts, either of workers or funds. Here again there is no guide in experience, as such a phenomenon has not taken place during the present missionary period. The closest approach was in the case of various German missions isolated by the war when the foreign workers were compelled to withdraw. Yet in these cases the churches were handed over to various American or Norwegian Societies for supervision. In the case of Japan Mr. Arthur J. Brown in *The Mastery of the Far East*, expresses the view that Japanese Christianity, if separated from all foreign contacts, could now be trusted to maintain itself. He goes a step further in expressing the opinion that "probably" in the course of several centuries this body of Japanese Christians might succeed in spreading their faith throughout the empire, but adds that Christians of other lands would not feel justified in withdrawing their funds and workers at the present time, because by maintaining them the prospect of spreading Christianity throughout the Empire at an early date

will be greatly helped. Since there are 57 million inhabitants of the empire, and only 400,000 Christians—over half of whom are Koreans—there seems no ground for feeling that the present Japanese church has reached the point of self-propagation in any effective sense of the word.

These figures seem to raise the question, which is most clearly put by D. J. Fleming in his book, *Devolution in Mission Administration*, as to whether devolution is an end in itself, or only a means to an end. To put the question somewhat differently, is it the object of Christian missions in a given field to found a Church in that field, or to evangelize the field? The same question was raised during the controversy among the Presbyterian bodies in Japan some years ago and is clearly stated by Albertus Pieters in *Mission Problems in Japan*. To the writer of this paper there appears only one possible answer, and that answer is that devolution is one means of evangelizing a given territory, but only a means. The responsibility of the Church at large cannot be said to have been met by erecting a so-called indigenous Church unless by that term we are to understand a vastly stronger enterprise than even the most advanced of the present national churches. When seventy per cent of a people have not heard the Christian message, it does not seem statesmanlike to withdraw foreign missions from that field simply because some struggling bands of believers have found that they can work more effectively at their part of the task free from foreign control and support. Give them control of their own work and use missionary resources to open up some of the vast unreached populations around them.

It seems that there is little prospect of Christian foreign missions in Japan or any other present field becoming unnecessary within any reasonably predictable period. It is true that the work within the borders of the national churches will be done through a different form, and that a different relationship will exist between the foreign and the national Christian bodies. Some sobering facts are presented in this connection by Dr. S. H. Wainwright, Secretary of the Christian Literature Society of Japan, in an article recently published in the *Christian Advocate* (Nashville), on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Methodism in Japan. Dr. Wainwright remarks:

"There are influences at work tending to darken counsel concerning the actual conditions on mission fields and to confuse the home constituency touching the supreme issue of evangelizing the world, and such issues as 'race consciousness' and 'nationalism' that do not apply directly to the spiritual task in hand. . . . A study of the progress of self-support will show that the responsible concern of the home churches is for years to come inseparable from the destiny of the Japan Methodist Church. . . . We should like to put down the following as a succinct account of conditions existing after fifty years of progress and experience: First, the reality of Methodism planted among the Japanese cannot be questioned either as regards the spirit or vitality of the Church that bears the Methodist name. Secondly, the progress, though real, is so slow as to require the long view of mission work to be taken in planning for Japan in the years to come. Independence in any comprehensive sense belongs to the distant future, so far as present conditions are an indication. Thirdly, the degree of independence achieved after half a century, though gratifying, does not admit of self-propagation by the native Church to any marked degree, nor does it provide for meeting such exceptional demands as resulted from the September earthquake and fire. Fourthly, the ambiguity existing in the situation, due to the existence of foreign missions on the one hand and the native Church on the other hand, has not been solved in Japan (or anywhere else), though what Bishop Usaki said in his recent address is true—namely, that the most intimate and harmonious relations now exist between the foreign missionaries and Japanese preachers. Fifthly, it may be laid down as a cardinal truth of the situation on the mission fields that where the Foreign Mission Boards maintain a well-recruited and vigorous Mission there is a corresponding growth and advance in the native churches parallel to the work of the Mission. Any tendency to circumscribe the work of the mother churches in organized form is not justified by any undeniable facts, and such a course has hitherto shown its effects in the slackening of the indigenous work. Sixthly, the spirit of the Japanese Methodists assumes the heroic at times. Let it be remembered that if the Japan Methodist Church is indigenous its burdens are

not all indigenous. It takes over congregations founded by the foreign missions before these reach self-support. Full independence is not attained because its responsibilities are too great and not because the spirit of the Church is either weak or faltering."

These statements leave little more to be said on this subject, but an especially trying situation for Japanese Christians and American missionaries has been raised by the recent Japanese Exclusion Law passed by Congress. Because of the resulting tenseness of feeling Bishop K. Usaki, the presiding officer of the Japan Methodist Church, has recently published in the *Japanese Christian Advocate* an open letter concerning the American-Japanese problem. The position taken by the Bishop, who represents the views of the leaders of his Church, is conservative, courteous, and Christian. There has been a very general agitation of the question, and the Church in Japan perforce has had to meet the issue. Some extremists have urged complete separation from the parent Churches in America, the refusal of all financial assistance, and the immediate severance of all relations with missionaries; but the Christian leaders have resolutely refused to adopt such a course. A few of those who have advocated extreme views are said to be either not in relation with any American Church or to be in "bad odor" in the Christian community. One or two of those extremists have shown so much warmth in the advocacy of their views that even a Buddhist paper has accused them of lacking in the Christian spirit. In his letter Bishop Usaki represents the sane, conservative attitude of those who take a middle course. Wounded sorely and grievously disappointed over the recent anti-Japanese legislation, still these leaders seem to rightly distinguish between the American Christian people and their government and do not hold the former responsible for what has been done from political motives. To sever immediately, in a fit of irritation, all connection with the Mission Boards because of an offensive act on the part of the American Congress would be the utmost folly, as well as unChristian, and would inflict a blow upon the weak, struggling Church in Japan that would most seriously cripple it and would largely destroy much that has been done. The course that the leaders of the

Japan Methodist Church have adopted, as given in Bishop Usaki's letter, is the safe and wise one. One thing, however, is sure: the agitation for independence will be beneficial to the Church as a whole in that it will hasten the day of self-support, a consummation devoutly to be wished both by the Japanese Church and the Mission Boards.

A translation of Bishop Usaki's letter is as follows:

"Ayoma, Tokyo, June 18, 1924.

"Since the development of the American-Japanese problem I have been much troubled over the changed situation, and, knowing that the result will be very serious to the Church, I have been giving the matter very careful and prayerful attention, hoping for a satisfactory solution. I am exceedingly sorry that the Exclusion Bill has become a law, having been signed by the American President on May 26, and now the feelings of the Japanese people are greatly excited, and the anti-American atmosphere here is becoming 'thicker and thicker every day.' The Japanese nation unitedly condemn this discriminatory law as unkind and unjust, while many of the citizens of America take the same view. Without question, this racial discrimination is contrary to international ethics and does not harmonize with Christian principles. Hence the National Christian Council of Japan and other Christian organizations made united protest against the passage of the Exclusion Bill, while, on the other hand, almost all the Christian organizations of America took positive stand against it, urging Congress not to pass the objectionable measure. The action of the recent General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, which is one of the cooperating bodies with the Japan Methodist Church, is an illustration of what was done by the Christian people of America in their efforts to oppose the legislation. This great Church, while recognizing the right of the American people to regulate the matter of immigration, most vigorously condemned in the Exclusion Bill the articles against the Japanese as discriminatory and unjust and even went so far as to send a committee to personally protest to the President, the Secretary of State, and to Congress against the measure.

"Unthinking people often misunderstand Christianity and confuse it with Americanism, and there is real danger that the anti-American movement will become an anti-Christian movement and that the feelings aroused against America will be directed against American missionaries. And in this emergency there are some even in the Christian Churches who are perplexed and uncertain as to what steps should be taken. Recognizing this, I have felt that it is my duty to make clear the attitude of the Japan Methodist Church on this question with the hope that there will be real spiritual union both within and without and that all will have a right understanding of our attitude toward our missionary brethren.

"The Japan Methodist Church is an independent, self-governing body and has reached its present condition, working ever toward self-support since the union of the three separate Methodist bodies in 1907. The relation between the Japan Methodist Church and the mother Churches in America is coöperative, while the evangelistic work that the Missions began at the time of the union is also mutually coöperative. When the Church was organized, its strength was very limited, and it was necessary to our very existence and development that we receive a measure of material assistance from our mother Churches. Under the blessing of God the Japan Methodist Church has grown both in numbers and in financial ability and has made remarkable progress toward self-support, but it is not yet entirely independent. At the General Conference held last January that body set as its goal complete financial independence within eight years, and vigorous efforts are constantly being made toward this mark. It is our earnest determination to reach full financial independence within the designated period, but we recognize that we must be very careful not to be influenced in this direction by any thoughtless and unjust motives of anti-Americanism.

"In our relation to our fellow workers, the missionaries, we must continue to work together in all evangelistic efforts, helping and relying upon each other with the utmost friendliness, because they are our coworkers in the bonds of the gospel, standing exactly in the same relation as our Japanese brethren of the Japan Methodist Church as laid down in the terms of the union at the time we became an independent body in 1907.

"Our American brethren may sometimes err in judgment, but the Japanese will do that also, and so both must be patient the one toward the other and love as brethren. I exhort all to stand together with the missionaries, appreciating their labors in the past, sympathizing with them in their present painful and embarrassing position, and hoping that they will continue to help us to the utmost of their ability. This I firmly believe is the attitude and the sentiment of the nation at large, and certainly it is the Christian attitude, which should be superior to the national problem.

"May all those in America and Japan who fear God and love Christ endeavor in the most friendly way, standing on the spirit and the teachings of Christ, to arrive at a Christian solution of the American-Japanese problem!

KOGORO USAKI."

It is safe to say that so long as the Japanese Church produces and follows leadership like that of Bishop Usaki it can be counted on to give hearty coöperation to the maintenance of cordial relations and the development of effective plans of work between Japanese and American Christians.

Rural Improvement Through Encouragement

CAROLINE B. SHERMAN
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For two decades the nation has heard, in season and out, of the drawbacks, limitations and tragedies of rural life. The farmer and the farmer's family have been pictured as the helpless victims of a hopeless system. Farm life unquestionably has its very real and very vital problems, but "searching out the defects of country life has now gone far beyond the point of usefulness," says Dr. Charles J. Galpin, recognized leader in rural social problems. "It is time we pointed out the good things of country life and encourage them to grow and multiply. No more powerful stimulus could come to rural social development than such encouragement conducted on national lines."

Even in remote places, echoes of Dr. Galpin's call to effective optimism may be clearly traced and largely through his influence this note is permeating the pessimism of the past.

Down in Texas, Dr. W. E. Garnett, head of the State Department of Rural Social Science, is pointing out the best examples of rural social institutions, organizations and enterprises in that state. The agricultural press, farm and civic associations are helping him to compile a carefully-selected list. From this list outstanding examples are chosen for first-hand study of methods of accomplishment, that other communities may learn the way.

The states of Louisiana and Arkansas have studies of outstanding community enterprises under way. Illinois, New Jersey, Virginia, and the state of Washington are furthering localized studies of best rural institutions. All of these studies are designed to be constructive in character and to furnish a method of erecting standards of institutions.

Of special significance are the studies made by Hampton Institute of the best negro rural institutions in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia. The communities of Ebenezer, Ruthville, and Little Forks have been so studied and the results published. Allen B. Doggett is working with the Federal Government to

make the results of this study a real incentive to the members of that race. In Tennessee, Thomas Caruthers, of Fisk University, is analyzing the story of the rise of 100 best negro farmers in that state in an attempt to furnish concrete and living examples as incentives to other negro farmers.

To a perceptible extent, these nation-wide activities to stimulate the best in rural life head up in the little group of workers in the Department of Agriculture that forms Dr. Galpin's central working unit. Supplementing the more localized studies, the Department of Agriculture has published fully illustrated accounts of some of the best examples of rural planning to be found throughout the United States, including community houses, recreation places, and rural village planning as a whole. Now a study of rural hospitals is underway.

In a very real sense this Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is a fulfillment of Theodore Roosevelt's desire for a Federal Government unit studying the needs of country life, although the division was established under the authority of Hon. D. F. Houston, when he was Secretary of Agriculture. The recommendations of a committee of twenty-eight rural social workers and students of farm life from all over the country were used as the basis of the outline of work to be undertaken.

The policy of the division is not so much to carry on independent research, as to seek coöperation in research projects and to make investigations with other responsible research agencies as a means of infusing the different lines of study with the same spirit, and of accumulating an adequate body of scientific knowledge on the problems of farm population and rural life.

Knowing the farm population of a state in detail, as the animal husbandry department of a state college knows the cattle of the state, is an ideal none too high for those responsible for the social problems of the farm population, and is one of the central ideas of this division. Such an ideal means study, research, investigation. It means acquaintance with the group life of farmers, with their institutions, homes, standards and facilities. And such acquaintance is not yet in books. Thus at the same time that work of encouragement is being widely

prosecuted through local agencies, a foundation is being laid for systematic, scientific work so greatly needed in this field.

One of the important lines of folk study relates to migration from the farm. An attempt is under way to chart the movement of population to and from farms. Dr. Galpin recognizes fully the evils attendant upon over-migration and warns against them, teaching that the safeguard against it is an economic matter. At the same time he can paint vividly the advantages of migration. All the world knows Gopher Prairie, its sordidity and its narrowness. Five hundred pages were devoted to its aridity. Over against *Main Street* Dr. Galpin sets a slim fifty-page pamphlet on the national influence of a single farm community studied by Emily Hoag for the National Department of Agriculture.

Belleville, New York, is a small agricultural village of about 500 people, surrounded by a section of fine farming land. From Belleville came the architect who planned the grounds and buildings for the World's Fair at Chicago, for the rebuilding of San Francisco after the earthquake. He founded the American School of Architecture at Rome, Italy, and was head of three national architectural commissions. From Belleville came the founder of the rescue missions for girls, established in all parts of this country, and in France, Mexico, China, and Japan. From Belleville came a famous evangelist, whose influence was felt throughout the country, who is said to have inspired the founding of the Salvation Army, and who was for years president of Oberlin College. Another son of Belleville founded nine educational institutions of standing in seven states. Authors, editors, an inventor, manufacturers, a United States senator and many educators were among its citizens. Belleville furnished a state superintendent of schools for Ohio, a justice of the State Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and state governors for Ohio and Minnesota.

But at the same time that Belleville was sending out workers for the national welfare, it was retaining on its home farms a sturdy stock of educated young people. Old names, outstanding in the early history of the place, are still in the farm homes, some of which have been occupied by the same families for many generations.

West Virginia contributes as vital a story of the little high-land community of French Creek. State investigators analyzed this community systematically, primarily in an attempt to find what social factors are of first importance in the development of rural community life. Systematic study shows that this little farm neighborhood with a radius of two and a half miles, has furnished 203 teachers, including several university professors and a university president, 29 music teachers, 3 well-known natural scientists, 23 physicians, 15 ministers, 6 missionaries to foreign countries, 17 commissioned army officers, and 40 district, county and state officers, including a governor of the state. It has been demonstrated that at least 143 other communities have been directly influenced by this hill country neighborhood.

Statistics show that the average American farmer of today can feed nearly half again as many people as his father could, thanks to progress in the science, methods and equipment of agriculture. Future improvement will mean releasing still more people to enrich the lives of other communities, for migration is a normal condition of farm life. The farms are the seed beds of the nation, and as long as agriculture continues to improve in efficiency the farm will have young people to spare for other industries. But it must always retain a good supply of strong young bodies, trained and resourceful young minds, to keep these seed beds and their great contributions, both human and material, fully up to normal. It is in the interest of the entire nation that this be made and maintained possible.

Contemporary with these studies of migration is another series devoted to standards of living in selected farming districts. It comprises a uniform set of studies of a statistical character, related to costs, conducted by many different state institutions: Alabama, Connecticut, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Ohio, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

In addition farm tenant conditions have been studied along rather uniform lines in North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.

That rural social advancement is being made generally in spite of the heaviest difficulties is brought out in the testimony of other kinds of serious workers. A. B. Genung, agricultural

economist, who, through the Department of Agriculture, publishes regularly a bird's-eye view of the agricultural situation, says, "While these have not been good times for the individual farmers, the community has been making steady progress. Men are forced to rigid economy on their own farms; but they travel over better roads, send their children to better schools, have better public buildings to use, live in closer touch with affairs, get better medical assistance, take better care of the orphans and the aged, than in pre-war days. Physical equipment on the farm is scarcely being maintained. Physical equipment belonging to the community has been notably improved."

That these and many other factors are having very real results is shown in the letters sent to the western periodical, *The Farmer's Wife*, last year, in answer to the question, "Do you want your Daughter to Marry a Farmer?" Of the 7,000 letters received, 94 per cent answered in the affirmative, and gave the reasons why.

To those who had worked among the voluminous papers of the Country Life Commission some fifteen years ago, when overburdened farmers and farmers' wives poured out accumulated grievances against a hard life and a national indifference even harder to bear, and with the hundreds of farm women's letters of a later date, published by the Hon. D. F. Houston, then Secretary of Agriculture, these letters brought distinct surprise. Closer family unity, opportunity for more home life, space for indoor and outdoor living, kinship with growing things, absence of deteriorating influences, identification with work of primary importance, were among the reasons given again and again. In many cases the writers had lived in both city and country and knew at first hand the advantages and disadvantages of both.

"Theirs is an optimism, not blindly buoyant, not oblivious to the trials of the past, the difficulties of the present, nor the problems of the future," wrote one of the judges of the letters, Mrs. Vera Schuttler, Chairman of the Farm Women's Committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation. "The trials of the past, surmounted, have entered into their lives as strength; the difficulties of the present are whetstones to add keenness to living; the problems of the future are a challenge to an even fuller life."

The Chaos of Congress ✓

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Hamilton College

Even Congress admits that never has it stood so low in public estimation as now. Cartoonists, editors, preachers, grand juries, muckrakers—all take a shot at Congress with impunity. It is well for all good citizens to pause and ask why this should be. Is the condition inherent or accidental? Is it irremediable or avoidable? If the latter, how correct the evils which are so patent to all?

Some months ago, in a popular weekly, Representative M. B. Madden, of Illinois, published an article entitled, "What Is the Matter with Congress?" in which he frankly discussed obvious ills and suggested remedies. As he saw it, antiquated rules, the committee system, and the loss of power by the Speaker are the main causes of the ineptitude of the House of Representatives. The first two reasons would also apply to the Senate. If we accept Mr. Madden's diagnosis the remedy would appear simple: reform the rules, re-organize the committees, restore the Speaker's power. That is easier to say than to do. The committee system is an Augean stable of such dimensions as to call for more than one legislative Hercules. With the inertia of routine and habit back of it, interlocked with the pernicious seniority rule, it is well-nigh impossible to reform it from within the House or the Senate.

Other critics say the main trouble with Congress is that both Houses are filled with mediocrities and nonentities—as yet no one has called them "inarticulate vacuums." Vacuous their members may be, but unfortunately *not* inarticulate. Why, then, do the people not remedy this defect by electing able men and women? It would seem that the answer is the old saying that "a people has as good a government as it deserves." In this case, that would mean that a Congress of mediocrities and non-entities is really representative of the mass of the electorate. Whether that conclusion be true—and it is partly true—an evident reason why the electors do not choose abler representatives is because so few really able persons come forward as candi-

dates. *But why don't they?* Ah! we are approaching the crux of the whole matter. Before discussing it, though, let us consider a little further this question of mediocre non-entities.

Are the great majority of the senators and representatives actually lazy dullards? Or are they normal men and women, benumbed by a system they cannot overthrow? I am inclined to think the latter is true, to a great extent. I have known many representatives and several senators. By and large, I have found them just as intelligent, vigorous, patriotic, public-spirited and honest as the average man outside of Congress—seldom more so. It is very infrequent that a member of either house is less intelligent, industrious or honest than the average "good citizen." In each house there are a few really able men, but they are generally swamped in the morass of mediocrities, strangled in the meshes of red tape, suffocated with the dust of dry rot. Seeing which, other able men and women either decline to run for Congress, or if actually within, then like Elihu Root and John Sharp Williams, they become disgusted and retire.

Instead of retiring, why do they not reform things? I have suggested the answer in the phrase above—"normal men and women benumbed by a system they cannot overthrow." By which I mean that the really ambitious and reforming members of either house find that unaided they cannot overthrow the pernicious system which has grown up like noxious weeds in an abandoned field. Abandoned by whom? I wonder if you and I are not partly responsible for that; if we have not abandoned the field of public service. Have we used our best endeavors to persuade the ablest men and women of our acquaintance to run for office? Or have we lazily acquiesced in the decision of the party caucus? Have we encouraged our representatives and senators by applauding every creditable effort they make? Have we held them up to their campaign pledges by letting them know we are watching their votes? When an independent and public-spirited congressman antagonizes the "bosses," do we turn out and work for his reelection? Or do we leave him to fight it out alone? When a "non-entity" by truckling to the "ring" secures the election, do we rise in our might and drive him from Congress at the next election?

Do we? Do we? Or do we tamely submit and let the "gang" reelect him? Think it over. It may be that if their constituents would help from the outside, there are men now in Congress who would throw off the shackles of "the system" and revivify our national government.

In my boyhood, in the South, when we wished to go fishing, we got an old tin can or a small gourd, which could be suspended around the neck, and put into it some freshly dug earthworms, with enough moist earth to keep them alive. By the time we reached the creek or pond our bait would be a mass of wriggling, inextricably entangled worms. This familiar phenomenon was the origin of an expressive figure current among the negroes, to denote hopeless confusion—"like worms in a baitgode." Often, sitting in the gallery of House or Senate, and still oftener in the last year, as I have read the proceedings of investigating committees, the charges and countercharges of the "Repubocrats" and "Demicans," I have been forcibly reminded of that familiar and vivid phrase—"like worms in a baitgode."

Of course the trouble in the bait gourd was that we put in too many worms for the size of the vessel and the amount of earth. So each worm was struggling to keep himself under the cool earth, and to avoid being pushed up to air and light by his fellows. Apparently each worm had some intensely important business, which he must transact at once, in a particular part of the gourd. But other worms kept getting in his way—and he in theirs—so the aimless and futile squirming went on. Do you see, now, the trouble with Congress? Mr. Madden has indicated only some of the lesser evils: evils, enough, to be sure, but not the fundamental factors in the disorder. He has failed, it seems to me, to perceive the underlying trouble with Congress, from whence the other evils arise; for which reason, inevitably, he has failed to suggest the proper remedy.

"What is the matter with Congress?" *Why, it is too large, of course!* Like the worms in the bait gourd, there are so many members of Congress that they get in each other's way, thereby preventing action and promoting confusion.

Some phrase-maker once coined a proverb: "In a multitude of counsellors there is safety." That sounds so well that leg-

islators and constitution makers have accepted it without stopping to scrutinize it. Safety for whom? Presumably, for the counselled; actually, for the counsellors. Where there is a multitude of them, each is safe, for it is obviously impossible to fix responsibility on one. Did you ever know of an entire mob's being punished for lynching? Or one member even? In the multitude of the mob is safety for each member, but precious little for the victim. Who is responsible for failure to enact the Mellon tax bill? I defy Secretary Mellon himself to point to an individual member of either house and say: "That man!" If it were practicable—alas! it is not—for the Secretary of the Treasury to order the guilty person shot, instead of asking the Secretary of War to detail an expert marksman to act as executioner, he would have to request the detail of two machine-gun companies as firing squads. On the other hand—who built the Panama canal, one man or a debating society?

Some years ago, in a civic club, an executive committee of five was proposed. One gentleman, who did his thinking with his tongue, advocated increasing this number till every trade, profession and locality in the city was represented on the committee. A very astute lawyer arose and mildly remarked: "In my observation a large committee is a talkative committee, not an executive committee." There we have the fundamental "matter with Congress"—its fatal defect. The multitude of counsellors and their multitudinous talkativeness, with their propensity to disagree and wrangle over trivialities, suggests this idea: suppose you appoint one member of your club to select an appropriate present for the retiring president. Without doubt he will do the work in less than an hour. Suppose, instead, you appoint a committee of two to do the same thing. Perhaps a week will elapse before they find an hour convenient for both; then very likely they will disagree about the nature of the present. Make it a committee of three, and each member has two people with whom he may disagree and it may be weeks before a quorum can be secured. Keep on enlarging your committee by arithmetical progression and you decrease its efficiency by geometrical progression. Consider then the situation when you have a Senate in which each man has ninety-five persons with

whom he can disagree; then after the Senate has compromised its differences, the result goes to a House in which each member has four hundred thirty-four people with whom he may disagree! The possibilities are enough to turn the head of an Einstein—or the stomach of the American taxpayer. Suppose, for instance, that every member of the House spoke only one hour upon a bill to appropriate money for the purchase of food for the victims of an earthquake; even if the House sat in continuous session for ten hours a day, every day of the week, it would take six weeks, one day and a half, just to discuss this bill, by the end of which the beneficiaries (?) would probably all be dead.

To remedy the situation in Congress, I would mildly and respectfully suggest that each house be reduced to a workable size, so that men and women of the first ability would not fear drowning in a sea of non-entities—perhaps choking in a desert would be a more accurate figure. Men and women like Edison, Jane Addams, Stephen S. Wise, "Pat" Crowley, Ellen F. Pendleton, do not now care to go to Congress because they see little or no chance for real service. Yet look how quickly Stone sacrificed a very lucrative practise for a small salary when the President called him to a man-sized job.

Have you ever considered that when Clay, Calhoun and Webster were at the height of their power and influence, the Senate was just about half its present size? I wonder if even those three giants would seem tall enough to overtop the ninety-three "broadcasters" today.

How are we to secure the necessary reduction in size? Legal obstacles, public indifference, private interest will all combine to obstruct and delay efforts to this end. Of the legal obstacles we shall speak presently. As to public indifference, it is entirely too obvious how that will delay—does delay—any attempt at reform. Public opinion must be aroused to insist upon a measure, and that is slow work, as the proponents of the Nineteenth Amendment can testify. As to private interest, it is clear that each senator or representative will fear that if the total is reduced, he will be amongst those retired to "innocuous desuetude," so he will fight against such a measure, as the Senate fought against the amendment for the direct

election of senators. Likewise, each party boss will oppose such a measure, as tending to undermine his control. The bosses will fight long and bitterly to prevent it, as the saloon-keeper, the brewer and the distiller fought the amendment which their own follies had made imperative.

Such being the case, I can hope only to suggest a plan for discussion. Note that I said "*a* plan," not "*the* plan." I make no claim that mine is the only plan or the best plan. It is simply a proposition for discussion. I believe it would work. If it never gets tried, but serves to evoke a discussion from which a better plan is evolved, I shall feel more than repaid for my effort.

To reduce the size of the Senate requires a constitutional amendment. *There* is a legal obstacle, at the outset. Accordingly, it behooves all good citizens to begin at once urging their senators and representatives to initiate an amendment reducing the Senate to one member for each state. Quite a strong case can be made for the abolition of the Senate; but American opinion (or prejudice) is not yet ready for that. So I would be satisfied to see the Senate reduced to forty-eight members; then each senator would have but forty-seven chances of disagreement, instead of ninety-five. Think also of the pecuniary benefits. In senators' salaries alone, we should save \$480,000 annually. (How many think, really believe, that everyone of our present senators is worth \$10,000 a year?) Add to this \$480,000 the salaries of clerks, secretaries, stenographers, the mileage allowances, printing, stationery, etc. The total saved per year will run into millions.

Even a Senate of forty-eight Websters and Curtises could accomplish little with the present rules. Hence such medieval anachronisms as the seniority rule, senatorial courtesy, "leave to extend [one's] remarks in the *Record*," must be abolished, and the rules thoroughly revised, simplified and modernized. In other words, they should be instruments for the expedition of business, not tools for delaying it. A senatorial filibuster is enough to make the angels weep. Reduction of the membership and revision of the rules would include the abolition of all useless committees, the reducing of the needful ones to an "executive not a talkative" size, with the appointment to them

of members best fitted for a given task. Thereby the committees would be restricted to their proper functions of collecting and digesting data quickly, putting measures into proper shape expeditiously, reporting bills promptly to the Senate, where the responsibility for debate and passage should properly lie. If such reforms as these in the rules could be brought about at once, even without reducing the size of the Senate, a long step forward would have been taken. Such changes in rules and procedure could be effected (if *you* insist upon it) while the country is being induced to demand the reduction of the size of Congress.

The House of Representatives can be reformed (I almost said "redeemed") mainly by statute. Such changes in the rules as I have suggested¹ for the Senate should be made in the House also. When the Constitution was being drafted the total population of the country was under four million, say about 3,800,000. Had all of these been taken into account (of course only three-fifths of the slaves were), the provision for not more than one representative to every 30,000 would have entailed not over one hundred thirty-three. Actually, the House of 1789 contained fifty-three members. By the time of the first census (1790) North Carolina and Rhode Island had ratified, and raised the total to fifty-nine. The Senate, starting with twenty-two members, became twenty-six. The admission of new states, as population has increased, with the resulting reapportionments, produced the present unwieldy figures of four hundred and thirty-five and ninety-six, respectively. Five hundred thirty-one "woims in a baitcode!"

Since the Constitution requires that each state have at least one member of the House, the best thing we can do at first appears to be to secure a statute fixing the maximum number of representatives at one hundred, giving each state at least one, with an additional one for every million of population, after the first million, and one for a fraction of a million as large as nine hundred thousand. Taking the census of 1920 as our basis, we should have a House of ninety-eight members. For each state would have one to start with, making forty-

¹ No claim is made that these suggestions are original. In one form or another they have been discussed in and out of Congress for years. I am merely trying to collate them and embody them in a comprehensive plan.

eight, twenty-one states would have from one to nine additional, aggregating fifty. Ninety-eight is two more than the present number of senators, but it is probably as small a House as the populace will accept for many years. By comparison with four hundred thirty-five it would be order after chaos.

The obvious objection to this proposition is that a state like Alabama, with a population of 1,752,000 would have no more representatives than Nevada, with a population of only 77,407. In other words, the plan is not absolutely equitable. Neither is any other human device. At present, with four hundred thirty-five in the House, Nevada has as many representatives as Arizona, New Mexico, Delaware and Wyoming, though those states have from two to four times Nevada's population. Perhaps after a time it might seem well to adopt Alexander Hamilton's proposition and divide the country into representative districts of equal population, regardless of state boundaries. For a long time state rights sentiment will preclude that.

Another objection is that in states with only one representative the minority party would have no voice in the House. That is of course true of the five states just enumerated, at present, and the only remedy for it is that the minority party should bring forth such strong candidates and such worthwhile platforms as to convert itself into a majority. Of course it is also true, now, that in many states gerrymanders have given all the representatives to a majority party. To prevent this, I would have it provided in the re-apportionment act that in all states having two or more representatives, election should be by proportional ballot, from the state at large. It is likely that election at large, whether of one or of ten representatives, would tend to bring out abler candidates in every party. "Nonentities" and "mediocrities" could seldom bamboozle a whole state. I say tend, for this device would not work a miracle; it would succeed in direct proportion to the interest and effort of the average citizen. We are fond of saying and hearing, in Fourth of July orations, that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and usually take it for granted that this means liberty in the sense of freedom from foreign tyrants. It is also true that eternal vigilance is necessary if we wish to have any freedom from "boss-rule." *We* means *you* and *I*.

The fact that twenty-seven states would have to elect their single representatives "at large" would be an additional reason for requiring the other twenty-one to use this plan. Should an amendment ever be adopted obliterating state lines in the distribution of members of the House, we would then doubtless abrogate the foolish practice of requiring a congressman to be a resident of the district which elects him. Sometimes (too frequently indeed) it happens that a given district may not contain a really able person, so a second or third rate man is chosen perforce; while if a district might look beyond its own borders for a candidate, it could induce persons of force and power to represent it. Yale chose a non-Yale man from another part of the country for its president; the Metropolitan Museum of Art called a director from England; South Africa sent to the United States for Gorgas to make sanitary reforms; a New York bank called one of its officers from New Orleans; so with railroads, factories, churches; why not with representatives?

Doubtless these proposed "reforms" will suggest to the reader others, such as electing a man from Florida as Montana's senator, or the total abolition of the Senate. Perhaps these will come. For the present I should be content if we could secure the measures indicated above, in, say, the next two decades.

It is respectfully submitted that if the number of "woims" in our two "baitgodes" be reduced from ninety-six to forty-eight, from four hundred thirty-five to ninety-eight, respectively, with simplified rules, abler men and women would offer for Congress and both houses would improve.

Let's try it!

The Record of a Broken Friendship

MABEL DAVIDSON

Lynchburg, Va.

As one reads the sparkling letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle one catches glimpses here and there of the curiously pedantic figure of Dr. John Carlyle, brother of her "man of genius." From her marriage until her death he is in the background of her life, first as a friend and playmate, later as a semi-comic annoyance, and latterly as one whose obtuse if unconscious cruelty called forth her bitter resentment. Never until I saw a photograph of the "good doctor," copied in Mr. Huxley's recently published *Jane Welsh Carlyle: Letters to Her Family*, did I get fully the force of Jane's feelings toward him; the protruding upper lip, the smug solemnity, the look of a scholar-having-his-picture-taken—all make her epistolary annoyance more readily transferred to her readers. A study of the relationship of these two is full of interest.

Dr. John Carlyle was six years younger than his more distinguished brother Thomas, and the only other member of the sturdy intelligent family to receive formal scholastic education. It is easy to see why Thomas Carlyle was educated, as his genius early called for recognition. But it is less easy at first (though his later career justified the decision) to discover why John, rather inert even in his youth, should have been chosen for "learning" rather than one of his sturdier brothers. One is tempted to venture the whimsical and frivolous guess that the family considered a title of some kind necessary to distinguish this John from his half-brother,¹ for James Carlyle had had the odd fancy of bestowing this durable name on two of his sons. The real explanation of John Carlyle's opportunity is to be found first, in his brother Thomas's preference for and generosity to him, and second, in his own natural acquiescence in any plan looking toward ease and requiring not too great exertion and initiative on his part. At an early

¹ John Carlyle (called in the family "John of Cocker-mouth") was eldest son of James Carlyle, and his only child by his first wife, Janet. This son, after his father's second marriage, lived for the most part with his grandparents. He later emigrated to Canada, where he died at the age of 80. Carlyle mentions this half brother only a few times, but he sent money to Canada on several occasions to aid him, and records his death in 1875. Dr. John Carlyle was named John Aitken.

age he decided to study medicine, and with much financial aid from his elder brother obtained his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh in 1831. His brother also sent him to Germany for further study, and later maintained him in London while he was trying unsuccessfully to work up a practice. He needed moral support as well as financial aid, but fortune and his friends were usually kind to "Lord Moon" (his family nick-name). Through the influence of Lord Jeffrey he received an appointment as traveling physician to the Countess of Clare, accompanied her to Italy and remained there for several years in comfortable and leisurely circumstances. While there he paid his debts; also he devoted much time to study and became a good Italian scholar. It should, moreover, be said to his credit that during an outbreak of cholera in Rome he rendered gratuitous medical service. In 1843 he returned to London and practically abandoned medicine for the pursuit of literature. He planned to make a prose translation of all of Dante, but never completed the task. The part of the translation that he did finish is said to have high scholastic value. He also made a study of the Icelandic language and literature. Late in life he married a widow who lived less than two years after the marriage. He died in 1879. His friends describe him as of "amiable and tranquil disposition." Froude says he "wanted brilliance and still more he wanted energy, but he had the virtue of his family—veracity." Carlyle was always deeply devoted to him, though he often administered brotherly advice in large doses, and complained of his inertia, and of his "careless helter-skelter ways." Such was John Carlyle.

I do not know when he and Jane Welsh first met. It is probable that he met her in Edinburgh before her marriage to his brother, or he may have seen her in 1825 when she visited the Carlyles at Hoddam. In a letter to her future mother-in-law written in November, after this visit in September, she quotes some of John's "coterie phrases."² And in this same letter she says:

"If the fates are kind and the good doctor a man of his word, he will be in this city (Edinburgh) tomorrow so that I have some hope to feast my eyes on 'the broad Atlantic of his countenance'."

² Phrases used only in the family and referring to family jokes of long standing.

The familiar tone of the reference seems to imply not only acquaintance, but liking as well. We know positively that John Carlyle was present on November 17th at the marriage of his brother to Jane Welsh; in fact he was the only guest, the ceremony being performed very quietly in the home of the bride's grandfather at Templand with only the household and John Carlyle present. Carlyle, seized with the proverbial terror of the bridegroom, had wished his brother's company on the wedding journey to Comely Bank, Edinburgh, but the bride sternly forbade this arrangement. "I prohibit John from going with us an inch of the road," she wrote. And so they drove off, as Froude says, "in a post chaise, and without the brother."

By the February after the marriage John Carlyle was staying at Comely Bank, evidently to the satisfaction of all concerned. On February 3rd Carlyle wrote to his brother Alexander:

"Directly after breakfast the good wife and the Doctor retire upstairs to the drawing room, a little place all fitted up like a lady's workbox, where a spunk of fire is lit for the forenoon; and I meanwhile sit scribbling and meditating and wrestling with the powers of dullness 'till one or two o'clock when I sally forth into the city or toward the seashore, taking care only to be home for the important purpose of consuming my mutton chop at four. After dinner we all read learned languages 'till coffee (which we now take at night instead of tea) and so on 'till bedtime."

The letters of this period, the happiest the Carlyles ever wrote, are full of such pretty pictures of family felicity. It is almost as if we see John and Jane laughing and playing like two children while Thomas works, and gently growls nearby. Jane found it good to read Italian with this even-tempered brother-in-law, and relax in his company from the strain of being "wife of a man of genius."

Thus we see the initial stage of Jane Carlyle's feeling toward her brother-in-law. They were both young (exactly of an age) and as yet pleased with life; his good temper was soothing in a house where good temper did not abound, and the Italian study gave her an outlet for the brilliancy later expended in letter writing and on London society.

Carlyle had sent John to the University. After his marriage he continued financial aid to this brother in undiminished quantities, and in 1827, when the resources of the Carlyles were so slim and their prospects so uncertain that retirement to lonely Craigenputtock seemed inevitable, he undertook to send John to Germany for further study. It is to the credit of Jane Carlyle that there exists not the slightest evidence that she begrudged this aid to her brother-in-law. The fine gentility of her nature suffered no assault from matters merely financial. In 1827 John left for Munich to study, and in May 1828 Thomas and his wife moved to Craigenputtock.

In 1829 John Carlyle returned from Germany without prospects and became his brother's guest at the moorland farm, where his presence was very welcome and did much to lessen the gloom and loneliness of Jane Carlyle's life there. Several months later he went to London in search of a professional opening. They would have been glad for him to stay longer, but Carlyle, recognizing his brother's natural inertia, felt it necessary to spur him on, and strongly advised the London venture. For a while now John thought of giving up medicine, dabbled unsuccessfully in literature, and was finally forced, much against his brother's will, to borrow from Lord Jeffrey, who had been urging him for some time to accept a loan. Finally established as traveling physician to Lady Clare, a wealthy neurotic, he went abroad with a living assured on easy terms; his life from now on was one of comfort and security.

Mrs. Carlyle saw John before he sailed for Italy, and during his absence sent him gay and affectionate little notes, usually in the form of postscripts to his brother's letters. He is addressed as "dearest of created doctors," told of all the family happenings, and even made confidant in a reference to Edward Irving.

"Mrs. ——— wrote me a sentimental effusion on the death of Edward Irving, threatening as heretofore to come to see me, but has not yet, nor will. The only pity is that she will not let the matter lie quite dormant."

The Mrs. ——— is probably Mrs. Basil Montague, who had earlier made trouble by telling about the Edward Irving

affair, but the point of the quotation is that a woman who writes her brother-in-law a reference to a former love affair of hers must trust and like him rather well.

Her first disillusionment in regard to him came when, on his return from Italy in 1833, he spent a month's holiday at Craigenputtock, and failed both to understand or sympathize fully with her ill health. She had evidently had high hopes of aid from his medical skill. Probably she trusted vaguely and sub-consciously to the "over-seas" quality of it, for it is well-nigh impossible for those of us who stay at home until we feel stupid not to believe that "being abroad" must create brilliancy where it doesn't exist, and polish it to high luminosity where it does. At any rate, if she trusted to him to cure her she was doomed to disappointment. His company was pleasant and furnished relief from the boredom of loneliness and drudgery, but his medicine did her little good. After he had been at Craigenputtock for some time she wrote to her friend Eliza Miles:

"The more I see of doctors the more I hold by the old heresy that they are all 'physicians of no value.' My brother-in-law is a paragon of the class, but he is so by—in so much as is possible—undoctoring himself. He told me yesterday, 'Could I give you some agreeable occupation to fill your whole mind, it would do more for you than all the medicine in existence'."

We have here, I think, a first indication of trouble, and a partial explanation of later misunderstanding. To tell a busy, quick-tempered woman, doing and doing well, hard, unaccustomed work, that she needs "occupation to fill her whole mind" is tactless, not to say dangerous, even if one does qualify "occupation" by the soothing adjective "agreeable." I believe that John Carlyle, being unable, as were all other physicians who tried, to discover the cause of Mrs. Carlyle's obscure nervous disorder, concluded that there was no cause. He thought she "had nerves," as the old saying was; that she was a chronic lamenter (as was undoubtedly the case), and that therefore what she needed was not to be coddled but made to think and talk less of her ills. That these ills were very real is now beyond doubt, and we cannot help blaming Dr. Carlyle—if not

for lack of professional skill in that he failed to understand the case, at least for lack of human sympathy in that he failed to understand the woman.

In June of 1834 the Carlyles moved to London, and about the middle of April of the same year John arrived at No. 5 Cheyne Row for a three months' vacation. Here begins, I think, the second period of his relations with his brilliant and sharp-tongued sister-in-law. From now on he was much at her house, sometimes as visitor, sometimes as part of the family, for in 1837 he resigned his position with Lady Clare, and by 1842 had settled definitely in London. Now a young brother-in-law seen at rare intervals, to whom one writes clever little postscripts, and a fat, pompous, little-practicing doctor of 41, a man of helter-skelter ways and vacillating nature, who lives in one's well ordered home, and upsets its routine, are two entirely different things. Moreover youth is much less discriminating about its play-fellows than is middle age. To alter a Menchenism a bit—what in the twenties appeals, in the forties often appals. There are occasional revivals of the old affection, and John did some very generous things, as for instance, in 1838 when, in anticipation of the visit of Jane and Thomas to Scotland, and realizing for once the seriousness of her state of health, he sent money to his brother, Alexander Carlyle, for the purchase of a horse and gig that she might drive with her husband as in the old Craighenputtock days. But for the most part annoyance on her part at his carelessness and indecision, and criticism on his of her nerves and her novels (he often objected to her novel reading—inherited Scotch Puritanism, no doubt) had taken the place of the old warm affection.

In 1842 Dr. Carlyle was in London in private charge of a mental case, a wealthy Mr. Ogilvie. His attendance on this case was, however, not arduous, and he had much time on his hands, most of which he spent in Cheyne Row, where, according to his sister-in-law, he prosed boresomely, usurping the attention of Mrs. Carlyle's favorite guests, scattering his belongings all over the house, and even criticizing occasionally the "man of genius." To her cousin, Jeannie Welsh (the "Babbie" of Mr. Huxley's letters) Mrs. Carlyle writes much of her annoyance at his presence. "Even his kind actions are stript

of all graciousness by the stolid way he sets about them—" And, her temper rising, she adds—"accursed vegetable that he is!"

There are still infrequent references to his prescribing for her bodily ills, but she seems to have lost all vestige of confidence in his medical skill, and indeed his suggestions for cure seem, even to the uninitiated, highly calculated to have increased the disease.

During most of the winter of 1843 he was a constant cloud upon the Cheyne Row horizon, and in March the cloud broke into a storm over Dr. John's criticism of his brother's treatment of the aristocracy in the *French Revolution*. John advanced the opinion that Carlyle "had not had the same opportunities" which he himself had had of "observing their disposition and proceedings." To which Thomas replied:

"No! perhaps not, Sir, I was never attached to any Nobleman or noblewoman—in capacity of flunkey or in any menial capacity whatever!"

After this exchange of repartee Dr. Carlyle left Cheyne Row for a time, but the quarrel was short-lived. John sent peace offering of tweeds and figs, and by April was again established at his brother's home for a long visit, having now given up his patient, Mr. Ogilvie. Of his coming Jane writes:

"—he arrived here last evening—with bag and baggage when Helen was in the midst of a washing and myself in the midst of a headache—and now the question presses on me with some emphasis 'what will he do or attempt to do next? Above all how long will he stay here?—running up and down stairs—fretting me with distracted queries and remarks—making the house—what he has on so many occasions made it—a scene of worry world without end'!"

He stayed this time, however, only until May, and did not return to Cheyne Row again until the following September—then, however, most inopportunistly, just after Mrs. Carlyle had gotten the house cleaned and remodelled for the reception of her husband, due home shortly from his long summer outing in Scotland and Wales. To her husband she writes plaintively and to Babbie viciously of the intrusion. The letter to Carlyle from which I quote, is just as vivid as that to Babbie and much less acid.

"I had set my heart on your hanselling the clean house yourself, and that there would have been a few days in peace to inspect its curiosities before he came plunging in to set all the books afloat, and litter the floor with first and second and third and fourth scrawls of *verfelt* letters. . . . If he cared about seeing oneself, it would be quite different; but if the house would go on like those charming palaces one reads of in the fairy tales, where clothes are found hanging ready at the fire to be put on by the wearied traveller, and a table comes up through the floor all spread to appease his hunger, oneself might be a thousand miles off, or like the enchanted princess of these establishments, might be running about in the shape of a little mouse without his contentment being disturbed, or indeed anything but increased by the blank. Howsomdever!—Only when you come, I shall insist upon going into some room with you 'till we have had a quiet comfortable talk—untormented by his blether. Meanwhile 'the duty nearest hand' is to get on the stair carpet that he may run up and down more softly."

To this letter Carlyle adds a note that John was "never one of the quietest men in the house."

His lack of decision was what seemed chiefly to annoy her, for she goes on to describe his desultory search for lodgings, and his indecision as to his future.

"When I thought," she continues, "he was deciding for Gambardella's lodgings he came and told me that he thought he would have an offer from Lady Clare's brother to go to Italy, and expressed astonishment on my saying that I had understood he did not want to go back to Italy. . . . I should really be sorry for him weltering 'like a fly among treacle' as he is, were it not for his self-conceit—"

From now on there is often more than a drop of acid in Jane Carlyle's references to her brother-in-law, her chief complaints centering around his lack of positiveness. In 1845 she writes in great annoyance about his failure to meet her when she was returning to London from a visit to Scotland made in Carlyle's absence. He wrote that he would meet her, but added with characteristic indecision, "or perhaps I had better not." He started, however, met the wrong train, and returned to Cheyne Row at one in the morning, hours after she had arrived unmet, to find her waiting up for him in no very pleasant humor. Again, at the theatre with John as escort she wished to speak to Mrs. Macready, wife of the actor, but John, she writes, "of course declared the thing clearly impossible, no use

trying it." She made her way by the aid of a theatre attendant to Mrs. Macready, and ends her narrative of the incident with the sharp comment, "and then John, having then no longer any difficulties to surmount, followed to have his share in what advantages might accrue from the change."

But some of the adventures with John are so humorous that both Mrs. Carlyle and her readers are poised between mirth and irritation over them; for instance, his attempt to entertain her, so comically presented to Babbie.

—"On Thursday last I was feeling particularly knocked up,—and just on Thursday and on no other day he *would* have me go out somewhere with him. 'I lived too quietly,' he said, 'I should go out more and *see things*—it would be good for me to go that evening to the Surrey zoological gardens'—I refused at first on the score of being too weak—but as he continued to press me I yielded at last merely to show a disposition to receive anything so unwonted as a courtesy from *him*! He told me the place was 'closed by Vauxhall' to which we were to go in the steamboat—it was at least two miles beyond Vauxhall—when I was breaking down however Providence sent a stray cab to my aid. The gardens we finally reached and there I 'saw things' with a vengeance! You may fancy how he would lead one this way and that, backwards and forwards, to this and the other beast and bird—and tell me its name and properties over and over and over again—in an hour I was half dead with it and declared if he did not let me sit down on a seat that presented itself I should certainly faint—'Much better come this way—there was something well worth seeing further on—one might find a better seat than that'—so I dragged after him till we came in view of the grand wonder of these gardens, 'the Indian City of Ellora' all *done* into pasteboard, as large as life, and shone on by the *real* moon! 'And it was nothing now,' he told me, 'in comparison with what it would be by and by'—and he handed me a bill by which it appeared that at half after *eight* o'clock (observe it was then only half after five) *The Indian City of Ellora* would be 'all lighted up with fire'—there would be *fire* in the caves in the palaces—'*jet d'eau* of fire (as the bill had it) from the lake'—'fire dragons—A sacrifice to the Spirit of Fire—'Brilliant Apotheosis of the Fire-God &, &.—So much *fire* that my poor head *took fire* at the bare thought of it. And when in addition I found it was to be waited for *three hours*; a sacred horror crept over my heart and I felt for the moment that my whole happiness here and hereafter depended on my getting away from that place without an instant's delay!—John protested, argued against 'the stupidity of going back without having seen what I had come for'—God is my witness that I knew no more *what* I had 'come for' than the Babe unborn! Away I came anyhow and mercifully was *just in time* for the last steamboat—he had no scheme for getting me home the *seven*

miles, had we stayed! there was no cabstand, no omnibuses—and for this tremendous adventure he had chosen just a day when I was pale as a ghost and to the outward eye even more than usually suffering. Of course I had to go to bed quite ill—having realized a cruel headache—and when I was taking off my clothes he knocked at my door and proposed that I should come upstairs and look thro' his telescope at the four moons of Jupiter!"

The incident of the breast-pin is almost as good. Mrs. Carlyle was up on a step-ladder in the midst of one of her catastrophic house-cleanings when John appeared in the room to announce that he had lost a breast-pin. Then having found it, he brought it to her to ask whether she thought the diamonds real, and what she thought was the worth of the jewel. Since he had gotten it many years ago in Italy, his sudden anxiety about it at that moment seemed unreasonable.

"I told him," she says, "I would not take upon me to value it, but I could learn its value for him. 'From whom?' 'From Collier, the jeweller.' 'Where does he live?' (with immense eagerness) 'At the top of Sloan Street.' 'But wouldn't he tell me,—if I asked him? me, myself?' 'I dare say he would,' said I soothingly, for he seemed to be going rapidly out of his wits, with all-absorbing desire to know the value of that pin! If I had not seen him the night before playing with his purse and some sovereigns, I might have thought he was on the point of carrying it to a pawn-shop to get himself a morsel of victuals! But when, giving up the diamond as glass he passed to the individual value of the turquoise in the middle, flesh and blood could stand it no longer, and I returned to my dusting in silence;—"

He must have been a great trial, this large clumsy John, "doing his best to resemble Solomon," and continually "waiting to see his way clear," as his sister-in-law bitterly remarks, "and never so much as wiping his glasses." But sometimes we feel that she was a bit too severe on him—"Poor fellow, after all"—to use one of his own favorite phrases.

And now we approach the last stage of the relationship, when half-amused annoyance plunges into real dislike. The causes of the change are somewhat obscure. One was, I think, that Jane Carlyle in her perplexity of mind and bitterness of heart during the Ashburton affair had confided her trouble to her brother-in-law, as she did also, most unwisely, to Mazzini. She told John in 1846 that she was obliged to go to the Grange

(the home of the Ashburtons) against her will, else Lady Ashburton would quarrel with her, and that a quarrel with this lady meant a quarrel with Carlyle. John probably resented the criticism of his brother, disliked the unpleasantness of the whole affair, and was unsympathetic with his distressed, well-nigh distracted, sister-in-law.

There were, however, several flickers of the old friendship before it burned out in anger. In 1847 Jane wrote to her husband:

"John has been very kind to me since he knew of my illness, which was not until Sunday afternoon. He has come to see me twice a day; and one time stayed four hours in my bedroom, reading to me, etc."

And about two years later we have a nice letter of hers written to John just after the publication of his *Dante*. It begins:

"We had been talking about you and had sunk silent. Suddenly my uncle turned his head toward me and said, shaking it gravely, 'He has made an awesome plooster o' that place.' 'Who? what place, uncle?' 'Whew! the place ye'll maybe gang to if ye dinna tak' care.' I really believe he considers all those circles of your own invention."

But after this the letters have never again that free note of easy friendship. One small but significant detail is that in all which follow she refers to her husband as "Mr. Carlyle" or "Mr. C.," never "Carlyle," as hitherto. Moreover they stiffen throughout and there is often in them a note of suppressed irritation.

In 1852 John Carlyle married a rich widow with three young sons. This marriage further separated him from his sister-in-law, who felt, and showed, a rather scornful amusement toward his elderly romance, and did not especially care for his wife, whom she characterized as "formal and cold," but she adds: "she seems very content with John, however, and to suit him entirely." Just before his marriage John tried to revert to the old habit of confidential talk with Jane—to such an extent that she says: "He seems to think I have as much share in marrying her as himself has." But she could not respond to this confidence with the right tone, for her sense of the absurdity of

the whole affair was strong. "I hope," she writes, "that poor John is 'making a good thing of it'; the 'parties' having known each other for fifteen years it is probable they mayn't be marrying on a basis of fiction." And a little later she speaks of "reflecting with a half-tragical, half-comical feeling" that John was exactly her age, then fifty-one.

And now comes the occasion, only dimly revealed in broken references through several letters, of the first of two irrevocable misunderstandings that occurred between Jane Welsh Carlyle and John. While she was at Moffat, visiting John and his new wife, word came of the serious illness of old Mrs. Carlyle, and John left immediately for Scotsbrig to attend his mother. In a few days Jane followed him that she might help nurse her mother-in-law, between whom and herself there had always existed strong affection and mutual respect. On July 20th she wrote her husband of his mother's extreme illness, and of her surprising rally from what all of her children thought a coma preceding death. The letter is very detailed and very affectionate in tone toward all the members of her husband's family.

"Of course," she writes, "I give as little trouble as possible, and make myself as useful as possible, and I feel sure that Jamie and Isabella [Carlyle's youngest brother and his wife, then living at Scotsbrig] like me to be here, even under these sad circumstances, and that the sight of me coming and going in her room does your mother good rather than harm—As for Mary she is the same kind soul as I knew her at Craigenputtock—John goes back to Moffat today. He will probably be down again tomorrow.—It is quite affecting James' devoted attention to me. If I am but out half an hour for a walk he will follow me to my bedroom no matter how early in the day carrying (very awkwardly you may be sure) a little tray with a decanter of wine (not Greek wine but wine bought for me by himself) and a plateful of shortbread. Nor can anyone be more heartily and politely kind than Isabella has been to me."

Why Carlyle did not go to his mother at this crisis is inexplicable, but a mystery that belongs to another story. Jane's next letter written to her husband July 21 shows signs of a gathering storm, though as yet the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. Old Mrs. Carlyle continued to improve, and her daughter-in-law, believing that the very large doses of stimu-

lants that had been given the patient were injurious, induced Dr. Carlyle to discontinue them. Her view of the matter seems to have been shared by other members of the family and to have been the correct one, as events proved; nevertheless this interference with a doctor's handling of his case may have been the starting point of the later serious quarrel. Toward the end of this letter Jane says:

"I must write to John Erskine today, and to Liverpool to tell them they may look for me any day. With John hovering about 'not like one crow, but a whole flight of crows,' and Jane rubbing every thing up the wrong way of the hair, my position is not so tenable as it would have been alone with your mother and Jamie and Isabella. But I could not have gone with comfort to myself while your mother was in so critical a state—"

Her husband's letter to her, written on the 23rd, makes reference to this state of tension at Scotsbrig centering around John, but the situation is not made by any means clear.

"You need not," he writes, "be apprehensive of—where you are. She really likes you and has good insight, though capable of strong prepossessions. John, even if you are in his way, which I do not think at all, has nothing to do with it. *The rest are loyal to you to the bone.* Surely as you say, it seems quite wrong to give such quantities of wine & to an old weak person. I hope and trust John has entirely abandoned the system"—

We turn for further enlightenment on the matter to a note appended by Carlyle to the next letter from his wife, written in Liverpool, July 25th. He says:

"A letter, perhaps two letters, seem to be lost here, which contain painful, yet beautiful and honestly pathetic details of her quitting Scotsbrig before the time looked for and on grounds which had not appeared to her nor to anybody excepting my brother John to be really necessary in such a fashion. It is certain all the rest at Scotsbrig (Jamie and Isabella especially, her hosts there) were vexed to the heart, as she could herself notice; and her own feeling of the matter was sorrowful and painful, and continued so in a degree, ever after, when it rose to memory."

Her own reference to the affair contained in this letter of July 25th is:

"I got your last letter addressed to Scotsbrig at Middlebie, on my way to the station; and it cheered me up a little for 'taking the road.' God knows I needed some cheering. In spite of your letter I cried all my way to Carlisle pretty well;—"

Carlyle loved both wife and brother well, and was grieved at the friction between them. Whenever he could he ignored it, and when this was impossible he glossed over the state of affairs as best he could. The next reference is from the spring of 1859. Carlyle had gone to Scotland and his wife was to follow and be met in Edinburgh by Dr. Carlyle. In anticipation of this event the doctor is cautioned by his brother to "Be good and soft with her. You have no notion what ill any flurry or fuss does her, and I know how kind your thoughts are, and also hers, in spite of any flaws that may arise."

In 1864 came the serious illness that very nearly wrecked Mrs. Carlyle's reason, the culmination of years of suffering from some obscure nervous disorder made worse by the use of morphine as a palliative. And it is in connection with this illness that the final wreck of friendship with her brother-in-law came. It should be said in justice to him that Dr. Carlyle had stood faithfully by his brother and his sister-in-law during weeks and months of feverish travel, and must have suffered many things from his patient whom pain and sleeplessness had put almost beyond the reach of reason. In March Carlyle took his wife to St. Leonards on-the-Sea, where in April John joined them, and she remained there for some time under his medical care, a care that was faithful if not always sympathetic. Carlyle says: "He was surely of use to me there." He drove with his patient three or four times daily, and accompanied her in July on her tragic flight, when after twelve almost sleepless nights, she left St. Leonards in a last effort of sheer desperation. She was fleeing from madness; and by the instinct of need she finally reached the home of Mary Austin (her husband's sister) whose genuine kindness and sound good sense did more than anything previously tried to quiet the sufferer's racked nerves. I believe that Mrs. Carlyle's partial recovery of health and com-

plete recovery of poise is due in large measure to the good judgment of Mrs. Austin at this crisis. But before she reached this haven Dr. John Carlyle's temper had broken under the strain of his difficulties, and in an unwise effort to arouse his sister-in-law to the exercise of a self-control her condition made impossible, he was cruel and bitter. On the 15th of July she writes:

"John was dreadfully ill-tempered: we quarrelled incessantly, but he had the grace to be ashamed of himself after and apologized."

On July 23rd she writes her husband from the home of her friend Mrs. Russell, to whom she had gone after she left Mary Austin's:

"John offered to accompany me but I declined. Fancy his telling me in my agony yesterday that if I had ever done anything in my life this would not have been: that no poor woman with work to mind had ever had such an ailment as this since the world began."

To which Carlyle adds the note: "Poor John! well intending but hand unconsciously rough, even cruel in this last instance, which she never could wholly forget again."

She never could, for nearly two years later, and just four days before her sudden death she ends a letter to her husband, then in Scotland, with this comment on some account he had written her of the suicide of a poor woman at Scotsbrig:

"What a deal of misery it must take to drive a working woman to make way with her life! What does Dr. Carlyle make of such a case? No Idleness, no Luxury, nor novel reading to make it all plain."

Carlyle's comment on the bitter question best ends our record of this gradually broken friendship. "Alas!" he writes on the letter, "what a blind, hasty and cruel speech of poor, good John's!"

Abasso Garibaldi!

OLIN D. WANNAMAKER
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A very cultivated gentleman he was, of some thirty years or so, equally at ease in his own limpid Tuscan or in the American accent of English—for, before he returned home and became Director of Publicity for the Ministry of the Interior under Signor Federzoni, he had been for some years attached to the Royal Italian Embassy in Washington. We were seated comfortably in his office in the Palazzo Chigi, cool in its deep shadow while the August sun blazed hot on the Roman cobblestones outside. The Director of Publicity was carefully and genially directing the flow of ideas in my brain, from one nucleus to another, fashioning thus, with somewhat nonchalant ease, a half idyllic and half heroic picture of *fascismo*.

His answers to my questions interested me—psychologically. They touched my sense of humor and stirred my curiosity—a faculty likely to grow drowsy in Rome during August. At each reply, I was the interested spectator at a combat, for some contradictory reply leaped to its feet in my memory, ready to challenge *fascismo* on any and all counts—replies which had been mobilizing with each conversation all the way from Paris through Turin and down past the cities of the peninsular to Rome. At length the director of ideas reached what seemed to me a proper climax and finale.

"Should our opponents," said he, with an engaging smile, "attempt anything most specific, we shall be most happy. Many of our members, you know, joined the ranks for the fun of the thing. They found the hunting of communists a new form of sport."

I rose and thanked him for the enlightenment he had afforded me.

Then I called by appointment on another Director of Publicity—this time not for the Department of the Interior, but for the whole government—that is, for the National Council of the Fascista Party, which says it is the same thing. I found it a bit less easy to keep wide awake. The novelty was gone, and

psychology drowsed. Everything which the Honorable Director told me was already thickly plastered over the whole interior of me. I had read it all and heard it all so repetitiously. My pencil took notes, almost forgetting to keep always a little in the rear of his tongue, and I asked a few questions, half ashamed to encourage him to answers dull and disingenuous. At length I requested arrangements for an interview with the Head of the Government, the President of the Council of Ministers. The reply was gracious but final: "Quite impossible just now. The President of the Council has recently been so seriously embarrassed by the indiscretions of journalists that for the moment he denies himself to all interviewers."

So that was the cause of the embarrassment in Rome! I had naively supposed something quite different. Two months before a prominent Socialist deputy had been kidnapped in broad daylight, carried out of the city in a closed car, stabbed, and buried—so it finally seemed when gruesome remains were discovered under two feet of soil on the campagna. The four or five men charged with this crime, and now in prison not far away while I talked with the Director in Chief of Publicity, were all close associates, some party chiefs, and one or more colleagues in government, of the President of the Council of Ministers. Two weeks before the deed he had publicly endorsed with the fervent eloquence of a fascist orator these very men. I had been dreaming that this curious situation was the cause of the sense of embarrassment in Rome. Now I stood corrected. Psychology came awake in me again. I was not entirely to blame for my error in diagnosis, for similar things had happened one after another during the preceding twelve months, enough to disturb the composure of any government except the most composed. Three deputies of the various opposition groups had been beaten in public, at various times, and the home of a former President of the Council of Ministers had been ransacked and his life threatened. No one had been punished for any of these things. It takes nerve to remain quite unembarrassed under such circumstances.

But the Director in Chief of Publicity knew whereof he spoke. This was proven a few days later when Signor Mussolini addressed a great throng in a little Tuscan town that was unveil-

ing a monument to its war dead. It became evident that he was disturbed and that the cause of his disturbance was not these various incidents referred to above. For this is one of the things he said to these simple people wrought to a high fervor by his oratory. "If our enemies ever descend from the rhetorical flights of the press and attempt anything concrete, we will make of their dead bodies a camping ground for our militia."

To sense the power of this oratory, one must recall that the speaker was the Head of the government of a great people—a nation of 35,000,000 Italians. One must recall that, only three years and a half before, the nation had ended victoriously a heart-breaking war, in which at last it had completed its national unity—geographic, that is—and closed the doors against age-old enemies. But one must bear in mind another thing. It is needful always in politics to pay close attention to the time element in the sense of words. Always before *enemies* had meant those who did evil to Italy—the Austrians, the Croats, the Slovenes. *Our* had always meant Italian. Now it was changed, so that *our* did not any longer mean Italian, whereas *enemies* emphatically did. Enemies were all those of the 35,000,000 Italians who were opposed, no matter how quietly and mildly, to the uplifted *manganello* of the fascisti. To be explicit, it included all Italians who, for whatever reason or unreason, might happen to believe in communism; all Socialists, howsoever gentle and slow might be the socialization in which they believed; and all Democrats, even though they might use that name with no special meaning except to have a party badge; and all Republicans, even though they did not even dream of ever seeing Italy a republic; and all Popolari of every shade of appeal to the peasants. It included, in brief, every Italian who was not either a fascist, or a *flanker* of the fascists, or a dumb and speechless toiler who asked for nothing except bread and a spot at length in the cemetery. To all these many enemies the Head of the government—or more importantly, *il Duce* of *fascismo*—took occasion to let it be known that the militia always stood ready at his beck and nod.

Some of the enemies who took note did not even yet refrain from querulous complaint against both the deeds referred to above and the thoughtful and timely warning of Signor Mus-

solini. *La Stampa* at Turin, *Il Mondo* at Rome, *Il Lavoro* at Genoa, *Il Corriere della Sera* at Milan, and almost every reputable newspaper in Italy, strange to say, were among these unquiet spirits. How many millions of other Italians? It is hard to say, for only a few Italians possess newspapers in which to express their rebellious spirits. Instead of restricting the freedom of the press, it might be well for firm governments, like this of Mussolini's, to urge everybody to print his feelings in the papers. Then it would be so much easier at all times to define exactly what is the current meaning of such terms as *our* and *enemies*.

But, then, the government has other measures in view more comprehensive and effectual. The Committee of Fifteen of the National Council of Fascista Party was just then—so the Director of Publicity told me—planning a reform of the constitution which would protect the government in future from such popular squalls. One must have some stability and permanence, he declared, and not be subject to whims of opposition like this, based upon the mere incident of the murder of a socialist deputy.

The terms *our* and *enemies* are getting new meaning all the time. *Our* tends to narrow its limits as to the number of persons embraced under its protection, and to expand as to the rights and powers of these few persons; whereas *enemies* includes more and more persons and less and less rights and privileges as belonging to these many persons—all of them being Italians. The stretching and shrinking may possibly be near their limits since the celebration of armistic day on November 4, for on that day the heirs of Garibaldi were embraced under the tremendous expansion of *enemies*, and *our* shrank till it no longer covered the heads of the veterans who fought the war and won the victory and even the legless and armless and blind who paid with their bodies for it. Some of the supremely fascist fascisti insulted the Garibaldi brothers and drove them out of the procession moving toward the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

That is generally the history of language. When a few become filled with the inspiration of monopolistic patriotism, their imagination expands in proportion to the intensity of their holy zeal until they themselves become the state and all others

enemies of the state. And always at last the strained cord snaps. Always at last the pendulum swings down, and past the center, and up again to the tip of the other arc. So it will swing now—well, let us say rather that we hope there may be some favoring breeze of sanity yet to blow the fogs from the brains of Farinacci and his sort, though the fury of these lieutenants be ever so much more mad than that of Mussolini, and that we shall yet see harassed Italy win a chance to apply her fine brain and vivid imagination to all the tangled problems of Italy and of Europe.

The Proposed Amendments to the Articles of Confederation ✓

I

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Many problems faced the colonies in 1776, resulting in the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. This aspect of our constitutional history has been ably treated.¹ It is a matter of common knowledge that Congress on June 11, 1776, passed resolutions for the purpose of organizing two committees—one to prepare a Declaration of Independence, and the other to frame a constitutional government. The first instrument was reported, considered and adopted on July 2; the second was reported the 12th of the same month, but was not adopted by Congress until November 7, 1777, sixteen months afterwards, and was not ratified by the legislatures of all the states until March, 1781. Three or four years were spent in discussing it, and the final ratification of Maryland took place long after the minds of many people had foreseen that it was, at best, a temporary device. It is not the writer's purpose to discuss the plan of government or to give an account of the long debates in Congress and the various proposed changes thereto within that legislative body.² It is, however, in order to discuss the various proposals for amendments to the Articles made in Congress and by the various state legislatures. This is an unwritten chapter in American Constitutional history which well deserves serious examination.

During the progress of the debates in Congress, which extended over a period of twelve months, sundry amendments were proposed to the thirteenth article of the Articles of Confederation, as reported by the Committee of the Whole. That article stated that in determining questions each state should have one vote. It was proposed that the article be so amended

¹ See Thorpe, *Constitutional History of the U. S.* I, 214-228; Curtis, *Constitutional History of the U. S.* I, 62-87.

² For a detailed account of the debates in Congress, see Jefferson's *Memoirs and Correspondence*. I, 32 (ed. by Randolph). There were many proposed amendments to the Dickinson plan and to the plan as finally adopted prior to its submission to the state legislatures.

that "in determining questions Rhode Island, Delaware and Georgia shall have one vote, and every other state shall have one vote for every fifty thousand white inhabitants therein, taken and transmitted according to the directions of the 9th Article."³ The article also provided for an additional vote for each of the aforementioned states when the population of each should reach one hundred thousand. Thus voting, according to the proposed amendment, was to be in proportion to population. When the population of a state reached, say, six hundred thousand inhabitants, it would have twelve votes in Congress. However, the amendment recommended that if Congress, in the process of time, should become too numerous to be conducive to efficient work, "the proportions shall be again adjusted, wherein the same rule of equality in the representation shall be observed."⁴ Again, it was recommended that in apportionment there should be one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants, "and in determining questions in Congress each delegate shall have one voice."⁵ It was also proposed that representation should be based upon the amount of taxes paid by a state into the public treasury for the support of the Union.⁶ All of these proposed amendments failed and the original plan was adopted; it was agreed to rest the apportionment of the revenue upon the value of all improved land in the states,⁷ and that no state should be represented by less than two nor more than seven members, thus sustaining the precedent in the Albany Plan.⁸

On the thirteenth of November, 1777, the amended articles were given over for revision and arrangement to a committee of three, composed of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, James Duane, of New York, and James Lovell, of Massachusetts. They were instructed also to prepare a circular letter to accompany the Articles to the states. The draft prepared by this committee was adopted on the fifteenth of November.⁹ Two

³ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition) IX, 779.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 779.

⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, 780. Oct. 7, 1777. Va., aye; N. C., divided; others, no.

⁶ *Ibid.*, IX, 781. Va., aye; Mass. and R. I., not voting; others, no.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 801. Oct. 14, 1777. N. J., Md., Va., N. C., S. C., aye; N. H. Mass., R. I., and Conn., no; N. Y. and Pa., divided.

⁸ Eight states, aye; N. H. and R. I., no; Ga., absent.

⁹ *Journals of Congress*, IX, 906-925.

days later the circular letter was submitted by the Committee to Congress. It urged an expeditious ratification of the Articles by the legislatures, if for no other reason, to confound our foreign enemies, "defeat the flagitious practices of the disaffected; strengthen and confirm our friends; support our public credit; restore the value of our money; enable us to maintain our fleet and armies and add weight and respect to our councils at home and to our treaties abroad." The legislatures were urged, therefore, to invest their delegates in Congress with sufficient powers to subscribe to the Articles, but the representatives in Congress refused to fix the day when the ratification should be made. Thirteen copies of the Articles were duly signed, attested, and forwarded to the states together with copies of the circular letter.¹⁰ The Articles were now taken up by and debated within the legislatures of the various states.¹¹

Connecticut desired an amendment to Article eight which would enable Congress to requisition the states for revenue payments in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each state. Connecticut also wished to prevent the United States from maintaining an army in time of peace, or paying pensions to any officers or soldiers who were not wounded in the service of the government and who were able to support themselves.¹² This effort on the part of Connecticut to denude Congress of its power in time of peace shows the jealousy of that state for its sovereign power and its opposition to a strong central government. This attitude, as we shall see, was by no means exclusively characteristic of Connecticut, but was common to every state.

Delaware offered a somewhat contradictory proposal in its ratification of the Articles. It desired that Congress be empowered to fix the limit of the boundaries of the states that claimed lands as far west as the Mississippi River; that the "extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in, or granted to, individuals at the commencement of the present war . . . ought . . . to be a com-

¹⁰ November 17, 1777. See *Journals of Congress*, IX, 932-935.

¹¹ *Journals of Congress*, XI, 639. Three ayes, 9 noes. This was the vote taken within Congress and not within the state legislatures.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI, 640. One aye, 11 noes.

mon estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to the United States." On the other hand, the Delaware legislature proposed that the courts of that state be given the right to settle all controversies concerning the private right to soil claimed within the limits of that state; "that the indeterminate provision, in the ninth article of the Confederation, for deciding upon controversies that may arise about some of those rights of soil, tends to take away such cognizance, and is contrary to the declaration of rights of this state; and therefore ought to receive an alteration."¹³ Thus Delaware wanted Congress to be invested with sufficient power to fix the western boundaries of the states that owned land to the Mississippi, yet, at the same time, she wanted her own courts to be empowered to settle the disputes that might arise in regard to her own boundary. Upon ratification of the Articles, Delaware expressed her faith in her sister states and hoped "that the candor and justice of the several states will in due time remove as far as possible the objectionable parts" of the Articles.¹⁴

Georgia, the extreme southern state, proposed that the first part of the fourth Article be amended to read as follows: "The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different states in their Union, the white inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and all persons who refuse to bear arms in defense of the state to which they belong, and all persons who have been or shall be attainted and judged guilty of high treason in any of the United States excepted, shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; . . ." Georgia also desired that the phraseology of the fifth paragraph of the ninth Article be made more inclusive by giving to the central government the power "to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted and the expenditures of the same."¹⁵ In addition, Georgia was desirous of expansion not only northward, but also southward. She pro-

¹³ Curtis, G. T., *Constitutional History of the United States*. I, Appendix, 705.

¹⁴ *Journals of Congress*, XIII, 186-187.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 671. The phrase that Georgia desired to add was, "and the expenditures of the same."

posed that the eleventh Article be so amended as to admit not only Canada but also East and West Florida.

It is interesting to observe how ambitious this embryo republic was to expand. It was desirous of incorporating Canada and all of the territory east of the Mississippi into the union of the United States, even before the Union was completed. Yet the dispute which arose over the western territory almost caused disunion before the consummation of the union. Georgia was eager for Spain to ally herself with the thirteen states in their struggle for independence, yet, at the same time, desired the incorporation of a phrase in the Articles which would encourage the admission of the Floridas into the Union. The legislature of Georgia, however, finally instructed its delegates to do all in their power to secure the adoption of the desired alterations, but "in case all or none of such alterations be agreed to and confirmed in Congress," they were "empowered and required" to ratify the Articles in behalf of the state.¹⁶

On June 22, 1778, in regard to the upkeep of migratory paupers, Maryland proposed the following amendment: "That one state shall not be burdened with the maintenance of the poor who may remove into it from any of the others in this Union."¹⁷ This proposed alteration is not wholly without reference to free persons of color. Although there was a strong movement for the emancipation of slaves after 1776, no state really desired the existence of free negroes within its borders. Approximately three-fifths of the free persons of color were in the southern states and three-fourths of these were in Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. These free persons of color roamed at will across the state of Maryland, consequently that state was eager to make her property secure within her jurisdictions. It was also proposed by Maryland to change the eighth Article so that, in proportioning taxation, it would not only include all land surveyed for any person, but all land which should in the future be surveyed or granted to any person. Maryland next proposed that the western lands be utilized for the general benefit of the United States, and that Congress

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII, 671. It was to the interest of Georgia to ratify the Articles in order to secure federal protection from the Indians and foreign aggression.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XIII, 631.

should appoint commissioners to restrict the boundaries of those Commonwealths which claimed territory to the Mississippi.¹⁸

In the instructions of the General Assembly of Maryland to her delegates in Congress in the spring of 1779, that body referred to the Articles of Confederation as "a subject in which, unfortunately, a supposed difference of interest has produced an almost equal division of sentiments among the several states composing the Union. We say a supposed difference of interests; for if local attachments and prejudices, and the avarice and ambition of individuals, would give way to the dictates of a sound policy, founded on the principles of justice (and no other policy but what is founded on those immutable principles deserves to be called sound), we flatter ourselves this apparent diversity of interests would soon vanish, and all the states would confederate on terms mutually advantageous to all; for they would then perceive that no other confederation than one so formed can be lasting. Although the pressure of immediate calamities, the dread of their continuance from the appearance of disunion, and some other peculiar circumstances, may have induced some states to accede to the present confederation, contrary to their own interests and judgments, it requires no great share of foresight to predict that, when those causes cease to operate, the states which have thus acceded to the Confederation will consider it as no longer binding, and will eagerly embrace the first occasion of asserting their just rights, and securing their independence."¹⁹ It was also contended in these instructions that the states which laid claim to the western lands had no more right to the land than the states which had no legal title; therefore the delegates of Maryland were forbidden to ratify the articles until the states surrendered to the central government the country that was unsettled at the commencement of the struggle.

Massachusetts wished that the portion of the eighth Article which furnished the criterion for determining the quota of revenue to be paid by each state into the common treasury

¹⁸ *Journals of Congress*, XI, 631. Maryland was providing that the states which owned western land should pay as much ~~taxes~~ as possible.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XIV, 619-20.

should be so changed "that the rule of apportionment may be varied from time to time, by Congress, until experience shall have shewed what rule of apportionment will be most equal and consequently most just."²⁰ Thus Massachusetts did not desire the stipulation of a certain form of taxation, but to grant to Congress the power to experiment with different methods and then use the most desirable. This was certainly a nationalistic point of view far in advance of many of the thirteen original states, but it is to be regretted that she reversed her position in the early 'eighties. Furthermore, Massachusetts made an attempt to secure a reconsideration of the fifth section of the ninth Article, pertaining to the rule of apportioning the number of forces to be raised by each state on the requisition of Congress. Upon failing in this the representatives of that state in Congress endeavored to secure a reconsideration of the sixth section of the same article, relating to the assent of nine states being necessary to the passage of legislative measures.²¹ Again their efforts were defeated, but Massachusetts deserves commendation for her nationalistic views and her efforts to secure their adoption in the hour of growing dissatisfaction and discord.

New York and New Hampshire agreed to the Articles without proposing any amendments, but the former ratified with a proviso that rendered them inoperative until ratification by all the states.²²

New Jersey came forward with nine proposed changes in the Articles. That state opposed the apportionment of the land forces among the several states on the basis of their white inhabitants as a violation of the doctrine of human equality in the Declaration of Independence. The basis, therefore, should be changed in order to include both white and colored.²³ It is noteworthy that New Jersey should have taken such a stand, for she held numerous slaves at this time. However, that state did not advocate the cause of slave emancipation, or the enlistment of slaves in the army. Her representatives reasoned that it was only a matter of justice to the states that all

²⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 638. Two ayes; 8 noes.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 638.

²² *Ibid.*, XI, 640. July 23, 1778.

²³ *Ibid.*, XI, 650-657. This was also demanded by Pennsylvania.

the inhabitants should be estimated, for "a part of the inhabitants" of every state must be employed in agriculture, "while others are called into the field" of battle. The slaves would remain at home to till the soil, so why not count the "persons of a different color" in the number of inhabitants when there are "whites employed in agricultural work in the states where slaves are less numerous." Furthermore, it was proposed by New Jersey that a census of the states should be taken every five years at least "in order that the quota of troops to be furnished in each state, on occasion of war, may be equitably ascertained . . ." ²⁴ Moreover, the members of the state legislature had not forgotten the fact that the British government had previously quartered troops within the boundaries of the various colonies without the consent of their legislatures; that such action against their will had caused the people great concern, discomfiture, and embarrassment; therefore the state of New Jersey wished to exercise due precaution to prevent the repetition of a similar embarrassment in a state of future independence; hence, in June, 1778, while in the throes of war, that state proposed an amendment to the sixth Article which forbade the United States government to raise and support an army in time of peace, except such number of troops "as shall be allowed by the assent of nine states." ²⁵

The state of New Jersey also insisted that the assent of nine states out of thirteen should be necessary in determining matters of highest concern, even though the states should increase in numbers from time to time. ²⁶ It was recommended that a provision be incorporated in the Articles of Confederation which would require the members of Congress to take an oath to support the constitution of the state which they represented, and at the same time "to assent to no vote or proceeding which may violate the general confederation . . ." ²⁷ According to this proposal the members of Congress would have possessed a dual allegiance without specifying which con-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 651.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, 649. It should be remembered that Article 6 provided that "No body of forces shall be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the U. S. in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such states."

²⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 651.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 648.

stitution should take precedence in case of contradictions. It was observed that the quantity and value of real estate might increase and new lands to be surveyed and sold within the various states respectively might vary in quantity and value from year to year; for that reason it was proposed that the eighth Article be so amended that every fifth year the federal government must ascertain the proportional increase in value of such taxable property.²⁸

It was furthermore proposed by the legislature of New Jersey that the federal government should determine, as soon as possible, the boundaries and lines of the various states in order to promote "harmony and confidence" in the central government and to prevent "jealousies" and "controversies" among the states; that if circumstances prevent such action being taken, "previous to the proposal of the Confederation to the several states, the establishment of the principles upon which, and the rule and mode by which the determination might be conducted, at a time more convenient and favorable for dispatching the same at an early period, not exceeding five years from the final ratification of the Confederation," would be satisfactory.²⁹

In addition, the New Jersey legislature was not unmindful of the western lands. Naturally the state legislature was greatly disappointed in finding that no provision had been made in the Confederation for empowering Congress to dispose of the western territory for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the War, and for other similar public and general purposes. According to the recommendation of the legislature, "The jurisdiction ought in every instance to belong to the respective states within the charter or determined limits of which such lands may be seated; but reason and justice must decide, that the property which existed in the crown of Great Britain, previous to the present revolution, ought now to belong to the Congress, in trust for the use and benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it, in proportion to their respective abilities, and therefore the reward

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 649. The original article said it shall be "estimated from time to time as Congress shall direct."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, XI, 649.

ought not to be predilectionally distributed."³⁰ Therefore it was insisted that the western lands be surrendered to the central government for the common benefit of all and that some provision be inserted in the Constitution providing for such a surrender.

There was one objection made by the legislature of New Jersey which should be given careful consideration, because it foreshadowed one great idea which the Constitution of the United States afterwards embodied. This objection was, "that the Articles of Confederation contained no provision by which the foreign trade of the country would be placed under the regulation of Congress." The sixth Article declared that no state should levy any imposts or duties which might interfere with any stipulations entered into by the United States with any foreign power, pursuant to the treaties already proposed to the courts of France and Spain; while the ninth Article declared that no treaty of commerce should be made by the United States whereby the legislative power of the respective states should be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people were subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any pieces of goods or commodities whatsoever. These provisions merely restrained the states from laying imposts which would interfere with the then proposed treaties; in all other respects the foreign and domestic trade of each of the thirteen states was left to be regulated by state legislation; therefore, the legislature of New Jersey declared, in 1778, that the sole and exclusive power of regulating the foreign trade of the United States ought to be clearly vested in the Congress of the United States and that the revenue arising from duties and customs ought to be appropriated to the building and support of a navy for the protection of trade and the defense of the coasts, and to other public and general purposes, for the common benefit of the states. It was suggested that a great security would be derived to the Union from such an establishment of a common and mutual interest.³¹ Judge Curtis said that "this suggestion was both premature and tardy. It was pre-

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 650.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 648.

mature because the states had not yet learned that their control over foreign commerce must be surrendered, if they would avoid the evil of perpetual conflict with each other; and it came too late, because the Articles of Confederation were practically incapable of amendment at the period when the suggestion was made.³² Three states only voted in favor of adopting any of the suggestions made by New Jersey; six voted against them, and one was divided.³³

Pennsylvania did not raise serious objections to the Articles, but she desired more explicit phraseology and a few minor amendments. For instance, Pennsylvania did not object to the power of recall by the legislatures of the various states, or the right to send other delegates in their stead, but she did object to the concluding phrase of the first paragraph of the fifth Article, which gave to the legislatures the power to appoint delegates to fill such vacancies "for the remainder of the year."³⁴

This state also objected to the supreme control over the postoffice granted by the Articles to Congress. Because of this objection the Pennsylvania legislature proposed that the postoffice department be compelled to submit its accounts "annually" to "the legislatures of the several states," and that the portion of the ninth article pertaining to this department be amended accordingly.³⁵ Evidently, the members of the Pennsylvania legislature were of the opinion that it was unwise to surrender so much power to the central government, because they were fully aware of the fact that more power is often assumed than what is actually delegated. It was, furthermore, proposed that the number of troops be furnished according to the total number of inhabitants and not in proportion to the number of white inhabitants, and in the last section of the ninth Article, after the word "delegates" should be added "respectively".³⁶

Twenty-one amendments were proposed by the legislature of South Carolina. The discussion of the Articles by its legis-

³² Curtis, *Constitutional Hist. of the U. S.*, I, 90.

³³ See *Journals of Congress*, XI, 651.

³⁴ *Journals of Congress*, XI, 652. Two states voted in the affirmative, two in negative and one divided.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, 652. Two states voted in the affirmative, nine in negative.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 652. Three states voted in affirmative, nine in negative.

lative body was exhaustive, and its Chief Justice, William H. Drayton, in the most elaborate speech on the Articles that has been preserved, opposed their adoption and submitted another plan of government.³⁷ Judge Drayton's attitude is best summarized in his own language. He said: "The sovereignty of the states should be restricted . . . only in cases of absolute necessity;" "Congress should have no power but what is clearly defined in the nature of its operation. . . .

"In a word," he said, "I cannot admit of any confederation that gives Congress any power that can with propriety be exercised by the several states or any power but what is clearly defined beyond a doubt. Nor can I think of entering into any engagements which are not as equal as may be between the states—engagements of a compelling nature, and the whole to be understood according to the letter only. Without these five leading principles a confederation is not a desirable object . . ."³⁸ It was upon these principles that Mr. Drayton framed his alternative Constitution, and he summarized:

"I have increased the least representation in Congress, in order to procure a more numerous representation of the states, and to give efficacy to the mode of trial of disputes between the states, for a numerous representation is a guard against corruption; and nothing should be left at hazard that can be avoided—it seems requisite to declare that a state shall be bound by the act of Congress, or the committee of the United States, although its representation shall not be present; for this will have a tendency to urge the state to preserve their representation. I think it is utterly impolitic to exclude a member of Congress from being nominated for any office under the United States; for a man may be capable of performing much more important service in such a state than in Congress . . . It seems necessary to the dispatch of business that the president of Congress should also be the president of the committee of the United States. . . . Congress ought to have the power of declaring treason. . . . An admiralissimo is necessary, for the navy should be . . . upon an equal footing with the army in point of rank. America

³⁷ Niles, H., *Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, 105-109.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 104.

must be a great naval power; and every encouragement should be given" to enhance its early development. That there should be a war and admiralty office; that Congress should be disempowered of its right to nominate military officers. Its power of emitting bills of credit should be restricted. "Courts for the trial of piracies, and receiving appeals in cases of capture, should be erected in each state." In order to pass a law there should be an affirmative vote of eleven states instead of nine. Drayton objected seriously to the commercial clause in Articles 6 and 9 of the Confederation. Furthermore, only the free white inhabitants of the states should be entitled to equality of rights and privileges, and to them all privileges and immunities under the Articles of Confederation should be strictly limited. But the privileges and immunities of free white citizens should be regulated according to state laws. "The enumeration of the white inhabitants ought to be frequently made, and with the utmost accuracy; this being the best means of enabling the Congress to wield the strength of America with equal justice to the several states and with vigor in defence of the Confederacy. And the mode in which this numeration shall be made, and the general tax shall be raised, ought to be specified."³⁹

Apparently South Carolina desired a government that would furnish protection to only one class of people—the whites. Three amendments were proposed to the first sentence of the fourth Article which would give only to the "free white inhabitants" all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states, "according to the law of such states respectively, for the government of their own free white inhabitants;" and "those who refused to take up arms in defense of the confederacy" of whatever color, were to be placed in the class of vagabonds and fugitives from justice;⁴⁰ that the people of each state "shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state, to any other state of which

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁴⁰ *Journals of Congress*, XI, 652.

the owner is an inhabitant except in cases of embargo."⁴¹ The day of the meeting of Congress should be changed from the first Monday in November to the nineteenth of April.⁴² Also no state should be represented in Congress by less than three, nor by more than seven members, and no person should be eligible as a delegate for more than two years in six.⁴³ And the first paragraph of the sixth Article should be so amended as to read, "no state without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled . . . shall enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king, prince or foreign state, except the same be upon the subject of commerce, nor then so as to interfere with any treaty or alliance of the United States made or treaty proposed by Congress."⁴⁴ It seems that Judge Drayton feared that the word *state* would be interpreted to apply to the thirteen co-states as well as to foreign states; therefore it was through his suggestion that this latter amendment was proposed. In case of the outbreak of an Indian War one state might aid and sustain another without the prior consent of Congress.⁴⁵ This proposed change was due to the peril of the southwestern frontier at this time, from the marauding Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws, who were threatening hostilities. The troops of a state should be primarily under the control of its own authorities, unless joined by troops from another, in which case Congress might appoint the commanding officer, but when called into the service of the United States they should be paid out of a common treasury.⁴⁶ It was proposed that the first seven words of the eighth Article be stricken out and that Congress be given the right to determine the date for evaluating the improvements made upon the land and the number of newly surveyed acres within the various states, provided such estimates were made every ten years, and as often within that

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 653. The changes desired included only the words "except in cases of an embargo."

⁴² *Ibid.*, XI, 653. This was earnestly advocated by Judge Dayton. One state voted in the affirmative; 9 in the negative, and 1 divided.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, XI, 653. One aye; 4 noes, 1 divided.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 653. Three states voted for, and 8 against. South Carolina also suggested that in the 3rd paragraph of the 5th Article the phrase "grand council" be substituted for "committee." It was also proposed to strike out in 1st paragraph of 7th article the words, "of or under the rank of colonel," and insert after the phrase, "shall be appointed" the words, "and commissioned."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, XI, 653. Three states affirmative; 8 negative.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, XI, 653-54. Two states affirmative; 9 negative.

period as Congress deemed necessary, but the estimate of improvements made must be determined "by persons to be appointed by the legislatures of the respective states. . . ."47 It was desired that the United States be denied the power of appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and in lieu of such jurisdiction be given the right of declaring what acts committed on the high seas shall be deemed piracies or felonies. The intricate and cumbersome article for settling difficulties between the states should be stricken out. The president of Congress should hold that office for one year only, but after the lapse of a year he might be re-elected. The consent of eleven states, instead of nine, should be required in important cases specified in the Articles, and all other questions should be determined, not by the votes of the majority of the states in Congress, but by a majority of the states themselves; but the consent of eleven states would be sufficient to amend the Articles.⁴⁸

South Carolina had a selfish motive in proposing that important legislation should require an affirmative vote of eleven states, for it was feared that the New England and Middle States would combine and pass legislation which would be detrimental to southern interests. Judge Drayton said in his address to the state legislature: "Sir, when I consider the extent of territory possessed by the thirteen states—the value of that territory, and that the three most southern must daily and rapidly increase in population, riches and importance. When I reflect that from the nature of the climate, soil and produce of the several states, a northern and southern interest in many particulars naturally and unavoidably arise; I cannot be but displeased with the prospect, that the most important transactions in Congress may be done contrary to the united opposition of Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, states possessing more than one-half of the whole territory of the Confederacy, and forming, as I may say, the body of the southern interest. If things of such transcendent weight may be done notwithstanding such an opposition, the honor, inter-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 654. They were to value the same upon oath. Two states voted in affirmative and 9 in the negative.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 655. It was proposed to strike out "In Congress assembled" at the end of 6th paragraph of the 9th Article.

est and sovereignty of the South are in effect delivered up to the care of the North. Do we intend to make such a surrender? I hope not; there is no occasion for it. Nor would I have it understood that I fear the North would abuse the confidence of the South. But common prudence, sir, admonishes me that confidence should not wantonly be placed anywhere—it is but the other day that we thought our liberties secure in the care of Britain. I am assisting to form the confederation of the United States . . . ; I therefore hope I shall not be thought unreasonable because I object to the nine voices in Congress, and wish that eleven may be substituted, to enable that body to transact their most important business.”⁴⁰ Furthermore, South Carolina desired that the affirmative and negative vote of every delegate should be entered upon the journal of Congress and that the delegates in Congress be furnished with a manuscript of the said journal upon requisition.⁴⁰

It was proposed by Rhode Island that a state might be represented, for a limited period of time, by one member in Congress in case of sickness and still be able to vote upon various issues upon equal terms with the other states; that Congress should ascertain the improvements made upon land and surveys made every five years; that “all lands within these states, the property of which, before the present war, was vested in the crown of Great Britain, or out of which revenues from quit-rents arise, payable to the said crown, shall be deemed, taken and considered as the property of these United States, and be disposed of and appropriated by Congress for the benefit of the whole Confederacy, reserving, however, to the states within whose limits said crown lands may be, the entire and complete jurisdiction thereof.”⁴¹ No delegates were present at this time from Delaware and North Carolina, but from the Governor of the latter state a letter was received which announced that its legislature had agreed to the Articles as they were first drafted.⁴² A committee of three was appointed, June 26, 1778,

⁴⁰ Niles, H., *The Principles and Acts of the Revolution*, 104.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, XI, 655.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XI, 638-639. One affirmative vote and 9 negatives. It is strange that there were such demand for similar amendments and the members of Congress were not able to successfully reach an agreement.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XI, 556.

to prepare a form of ratification. On the following day the form and a copy of the Articles were engrossed and approved, and a perfect copy was ordered to be made and placed before Congress by July 4.

On July 9 the delegates from New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland had not been empowered to ratify, and North Carolina, whose legislature had approved the Articles, and Georgia, were not represented. On July 9, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina finally signed the Articles. The remaining states were urged to ratify "with all convenient dispatch." North Carolina responded by ratifying on July 21st and Georgia on the 24th of the same month. New Jersey ratified on November 26th, but reiterated her hope that the inequalities that then existed would soon be removed. Delaware ratified early in 1779, and the Maryland and Connecticut delegates responded later by submitting their powers to ratify. Like New Jersey and Delaware, Maryland had no western lands, and it now demanded their utilization for the general welfare. The objections of the states which owned no western lands were so determined that they amounted almost to a conditional ratification. Congress urged the states to cede their lands to the federal government for the common benefit. New York was the first to respond and Virginia soon followed her example. Maryland ratified the Articles March 1, 1781, and accordingly the Articles became the first federal constitution.

Thus it is obvious that the great obstacle to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation was the claim of some of the larger states to the western lands.⁵³ This long delay could possibly have been avoided if Congress, in 1777, while the Articles were under consideration, had adopted the proposal to insert a provision which would have given to Congress the sole and exclusive right and power to ascertain and determine the western boundary of such states as claimed to the Mississippi, and to lay out the land beyond the boundary so ascertained into separate and independent states from time to time, as the

⁵³ The Confederation, although preceded by a cession of territory from New York for the use of the United States, contained no grant of power to Congress to hold, manage or dispose of such property.

numbers and circumstances of the inhabitants might require.⁵⁴ This proposal was rejected by the vote of every state except Maryland and New Jersey. Its rejection doubtless caused the ratification of the Articles of Confederation to be postponed for a period of nearly three years after it was submitted to the states. Virginia endeavored to hasten the adoption of the Articles by passing a resolution that would make them binding upon the signatory states without approval by all the states, and declared that the State of Virginia was "ready and willing to ratify the Confederation with any one or more states named therein, so that the same shall be forever binding upon the state of Virginia."⁵⁵ Although Virginia was unwilling, at first, to cede her western lands, she desired union more than wealth; so she used her influence to secure an early ratification of the Articles. This was obtained, as already stated, in March, 1781.

Thus the Articles of Confederation were, at best, a temporary device and were ratified because of necessity. There were at least fifty proposed amendments which were successfully passed by the different legislatures from 1777 to 1780, and were considered and debated within Congress, none of which were acceptable to that body because of state jealousy, state rights, and western lands.

(To be concluded)

⁵⁴ *Secret Journals*, I, 328, October 15, 1777.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV, 618.

Book Reviews

A HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Randolph Greenfield Adams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. xv, 490 pp.

The story of the foreign policy of the United States can be told in several different ways. For example, Fish's *American Diplomacy* and Johnson's *America's Foreign Relations* have been written by the chronological method, while Moore in his *Principles of American Diplomacy* has traced the story from a topical standpoint. Dr. Adams has compromised between the chronological and topical methods. Foreign policy from 1492 to 1815 is presented in the chronological order, while the period from 1815 to 1914 is treated by such topics as "A Century of Misunderstanding with Mexico," "Creeping down the Caribbean," and "Opening and Shutting the Door to China." The three concluding chapters, arranged chronologically, "Forsaking the Neutral Tradition," "The Peace, the League and the Senate," and "An Unfinished Story," summarize our diplomacy since 1914. The author has very cleverly arranged the chapters so that the good points of both systems are secured.

Dr. Adams has produced an excellent book at an opportune time, for undoubtedly there is a new interest in American foreign affairs. American colonial history and the history of the West have temporarily taken lower places in the attention of American students and readers. With this increasing interest there has come a demand for two things—a popular account of our foreign relations and a satisfactory text-book for college courses in this subject. To fill this two-fold need Dr. Adams offers this volume.

The author has achieved his aim of furnishing a brief survey of the history of our foreign relations, which, as he states in the preface, "will, in a measure popularize our knowledge of the subject." His statements are clear; the illustrations often unique; the language at times is flowery, and certainly his expressions are spicy. The average citizen will find in this book the same expressions that he is accustomed to see in the newspapers and in light fiction. Such statements as "giving Britain

a taste of her own medicine" (p. 237); that "he would be damned if he ever brought another treaty to the Senate" (p. 90); "when the jumping-jack despot of Central America tempted the Yankee ne'er do well" (p. 281), or references to "silent sullen peoples, half devil and half child" (p. 279), will make any book popular.

As a text-book, it is the best now available, but it has not met all the requirements as a guide for a class of college students. It cannot be compared with such an ideal text-book as Hayes's *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*. Most instructors would rather give their own interpretations in the class room and have a text-book simply to aid the student in securing more details than is given in the lecture or in Mr. Adams' book. But it is a hard task to satisfy both the reading public and the college student.

In many ways Mr. Adams has made the best contribution up to the present time in the field of our foreign relations. In the first place he has borrowed heavily from detailed and critical works, such as doctoral dissertations, monographs and magazine articles. He has digested these dry studies and in a few sentences gives the reader the gist of the whole story. Except for the omission of a few notable books, as Thomas's *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* and Bau's *The Open Door Policy* or an article like Rippey's *Pan-Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America*, Dr. Adams has covered the entire field. A second virtue of the book is the discarding of the old chronological method and the adoption of a system of presentation which shows the connecting links and the large influences through a long period of time. The story of our diplomacy with Great Britain from 1815 to 1914 as told in Chapter XI is a decided improvement over the old way of looking through five or more chapters for the same information. In the third place, the author has not been influenced by the motto "America, right or wrong." Certain patriotic societies, racial groups and partisan politicians will not get much sympathy from this book. It will be helpful for the college students as well as for older persons to read such statements as; "The policy of isolation with its ostrich philosophy, the hundred years of provincial history teaching and still more provincial Fourth-of-July ora-

tions, the spread-eagled speech-making of four generations of American politicians who thought they were patriotic when in the depth of their ignorance they attacked England on every debateable ground, were all bearing fruit in America's tardy recognition of her obligations in world politics" (pp. 372-73). "The world, after all, was being run by men who had been born and brought up in a period before 1914 and that world had quite as much difficulty in understanding what Wilson was driving at as the Jews of two thousand years ago had in comprehending the Sermon on the Mount" (pp. 392-93), is another example of the many stimulating sentences. Seventeen excellent maps add to the value of the book. These were not drawn for the sake of absolute accuracy in degrees and minutes but merely to enable the reader to understand easily the questions at issue. The portraits of seven statesmen and diplomats who have influenced American foreign affairs also add a certain charm to the volume.

PAUL NEFF GARBER.

THE FABULOUS FORTIES, 1840-1850. A PRESENTATION OF PRIVATE LIFE.
By Meade Minnigerode. New York & London: G. P. Putnam's
Sons, 1924. Pp. xv., 345.

In treating this decade the author missed an opportunity to be dull. Meade Minnigerode might have produced an ideal reference book for concealment in the stacks; but, instead of giving us the conventional exhaustive treatise, he has presented a delightful collection of sketches for our living-room table.

Yet there is a thesis. The period covered was one of transition; and in the introduction—itself quite an interesting essay—the tendencies and movements are significantly outlined. "Politically descended from the revolutionary Jackson régime, it saw the continued passing of government from the hands of professionally select statesmen of the old restricted school into those of the popularly elected representatives of the rank and file; it heard, more and more persistent, the voice of the new West in its deliberations; it put the fateful question of slavery irrevocably into the national limelight." The foundations of great fortunes and mercantile supremacy belong to the forties; "it was the springtime of the year in America's history, a rest-

less sap flowed in the veins of her people, and they took up their beds and walked." The author glows in the contemplation of his subject. "It was, primarily, an age of prodigies, paradoxes and parades. Prodigies of display and bathos; paradoxes of elegantly cultured, credulous vulgarities; parades of all the self evident virtues. It achieved the apotheosis of banality in a blaze of wax candles, the sanctification of platitude in a chorus of adjectives. And, all in the same breath, it produced other prodigies of effort and tenacity; greater paradoxes of timidly conventionalised, untrammelled intrepidities; more impressive parades of all the unsuspected valors. It wrought the consecration of self-sacrifice in a bitter waste of deserts, the consummation of endurance in a magnificently patient silence."

The pictures of elegant social life are most amusing. The fashionable cricles adorned themselves in robes and tinsels sufficient to make the reader gasp. The upper classes, however, wasted no tears on themselves. They were serene in the consciousness that London and Paris could exhibit nothing more costly and that boors were becoming gentlemen by the influence of their beautiful faces and the example they set. Obsequious journalists dilated on the brilliancy and cost of their exalted functions; and even Dickens, on his visit to the land, was impressed—but to the surprise of his patrons.

The chapter on "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" is excellent. It portrays the revolt of the wool-hat boys—ever since such a powerful factor in politics; and shows that a thoughtless, trifling thing—a cartoon, for instance—may affect national issues. Old William Henry Harrison had been ridiculed as sitting in front of a log cabin, imbibing hard cider. No platform was necessary: our commonwealth was founded by men who inhabited log cabins. We refused to accept Van Buren and his genteel, supercilious coterie! So, notwithstanding the fact that old Tippecanoe was a gentleman of wealth and social position, he rode into the presidency on the strength of popular prejudice.

Barnum's rise belongs to this decade; and we feel very close to this resourceful, fascinating giant of publicity. Real fishes and a most eloquent sea-lion may be seen to-day where old

Phineas exhibited his "Fejee Mermaid"—a hoax made from parts of a monkey and a fish. The whole Battery takes on a special historical charm in Minnigerode's review; but not the Battery only. All lower New York seems to tell of pageants and processions, lordly carriages and stiff, unbending Pharisees.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Minnigerode did not find space to dwell more on conditions in other centres of population. The New York episodes are all engaging, and perhaps typical; but the cities of the South—as well as the huge landed estates of the country—contained much in the forties that affected subsequent culture and much of peculiar interest because of the reverses soon to follow. We should like to have a glimpse into the literary coterie of Charleston, the artistic and musical exhibitions of New Orleans. Such scenes would tone down the dominant *bourgeoisie* so evident in the book and would put the forties in a clearer and more attractive light.

EDGAR L. PENNINGTON.

Mariana, Fla.

THOMAS CHANDLER HALIBURTON ("SAM SLICK"): A STUDY IN PROVINCIAL TORYISM. By V. L. O. Chittick. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1924. 695 pp.

A critical biography extending to 696 pages, dealing, moreover, with the chief literary figure of a whole province, is a task not lightly to be undertaken—or lightly reviewed. Professor Chittick, on his part, in his study of the creator of "Sam Slick," cannot be charged with having lacked industry in collecting and sifting his evidence or affectiveness in establishing his main contentions. Since one of his tasks was to demolish a series of Haliburton myths, the treatise is necessarily partly controversial in its nature, and it is hard to see how his presentation of facts can be successfully controverted.

It is true that Haliburton emerges from this study a much reduced figure, not only shorn of much false literary prestige but also represented as a confirmed and wilful obstructionist in the political development of Nova Scotia and a compromising seeker after personal comfort and preferment. This conception Professor Chittick emphasizes by giving chief prominence to Haliburton's work as a political thinker (or rather

writer), somewhat less to his work as literature, and still less to the more intimate sides of the writer's personality. As a result, the combination of admirable but conflicting motives from which such Toryism as Haliburton's usually arises suffers in sympathetic interpretation, and the study ends in the dubious conclusion of an irreconcilably divided personality.

Professor Chittick effectively disposes of the inflated claims made for Haliburton as "Father of American Humor" and originator of the Yankee type in literature, in a chapter which traces Haliburton's literary lineage back to Royall Tyler of Vermont, with whom Haliburton has more points of affinity than their common status as judges and their political conservatism, and points out clearly the particular forebears of "Sam Slick" himself. Indeed, one wonders how the impossible fusion of New England peddler and Mississippi "ring-tailed roarer," uttering speeches appropriate only to an eighteenth-century Tory, could have deceived anyone as an interpretation of the American character. The literary relationships of another important character in the *Clockmaker Essays*, the "Reverend Mr. Hopewell," are less adequately treated; incidentally, this personage is not listed in the index, which is disappointingly scanty for so large a volume. The bibliography of Haliburton's works and editions and of source material dealing with him is full and adequate.

The study gives an illuminating insight into the political history of Nova Scotia during Haliburton's lifetime. Not the least interesting item to American readers is the information given in the early chapters regarding New England emigration to Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century, a movement which Miss Matthews omitted from her *Expansion of New England*.

On the basis of this volume another, much shorter, book might be written freed from the impedimenta of footnotes and excerpts indispensable in a doctoral dissertation, one which would summarize the life, personality, and achievements of Haliburton in the excellent narrative style of which Professor Chittick shows himself a master.

H. M. ELLIS.

University of Maine.

A PASSAGE TO INDIA. By E. M. Forster. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company. 1924.

Unless one is a globe-trotter and takes his geography straight, names of faraway lands have a way of becoming but subscriptions to a sort of mythological picture painted by hearsay. What is India? For the poet Heine it was the land of high romance, fairyland, the abiding place of sensitive plant and sensitive spirit. The untutored may not distinguish it from "far Cathay" or "Ultima Thule." It means to most people of culture the world of Tagore or Kipling in literature, or of Gandhi in social thinking. Which is the real India? Mr. Forster seems to be affirming anew that no one knows this conglomerate land in its entirety, not even one Indian born. He would then be the last to claim for his portrayal finality, or any great inclusiveness. At the same time it is easily evident that his story has the vividness of personal experience, while his viewpoint is not hampered by his being too much in the midst of it all.

That the average Briton has no such modest notion of his ability to understand the world abroad is perhaps, while again not the most original idea in the book, the most interesting and entertaining. Was it not a search for a passage to India that brought Europeans to the New World? It was not India, this new world, but it would do. And the latterday sons of Sixteenth Century explorers seek India in India and find, instead of that country, one of their own. This infix of a Britain within the land of the Moslems and Hindus poses for the novelist a problem of the first order. He avoids completely the military phase so familiar to the readers of *Soldiers Three* or *Life's Handicap*. A civil station with its Collector, its Surgeon Major, City Magistrate, Superintendent of Police, and the Head of the Government College—this represents England's far-flung line of civilization among the heathen. The mother of the young City Magistrate brings out from England her son's prospective fiancée, who has an inquisitive mind and wants to see Heaslop in the midst of his chosen life work before settling the marriage. Also she wants to see the real India, instead of being content with what is within the British circle. From an excursion undertaken from a sense of this duty rather than

from natural interest she returns in hysteria, claiming to have been insulted by a young Indian who had planned the party. The Indian, a physician, is defended in court by the best talent among his people, but his conviction would have been inevitable had not the young lady decided in the witness box that she had been suffering from an hallucination. The Indian is released, the girl returns unwed to her native heath; the station, however, is rocked to its foundation by these events.

On such scant thread is the tale strung. Nothing whatever happens in the first hundred and fifty pages, then there are a hundred pages in which the author proves that he can tell an exciting story with the best, after which the book moves on to its end without any apparent reason for its moving at all. Nor does the author give himself any more trouble with character delineation than with plot. The Collector, the City Magistrate and the rest have names, to be sure, but they could do just as well with their titles, so much are they types. Male and female made he them, however, and since the English have not the handy German fashion of calling a woman Mrs. Whatever-her-husband-is, the family name is a necessary handle. The women are, if anything, more important than the men, for Mr. Forster defers to the wisdom of Kipling's saw:

"Who are the rulers of Ind—to whom shall we bow the knee?

Make your peace with the women, and men will make you L. G."

The Indian characters are assorted (naturally, this refers to the men only) in very much the same manner: a barrister, a magistrate, a doctor, a wealthy landowner.

No nuances of character can be expected from an author engaged in this style of story telling. He brings two worlds together, and so busy is he with that task that little room is left for the details and subtleties of character analysis. He does amuse himself, however, with drawing out two of the men more than the rest; Fielding, the principal of the college, and Aziz, the unfortunate victim of Miss Quested's hallucination. The school master does not hold with his compatriots in the rumpus, he is not a stock character in the sense that they are. He is in a fair way to become a convention figure, none the less, for he is the sort so beloved of the modern novelist—a

liberal in thought, generous, atheistic, possessed of all the manly vices, completely emancipated. Of Doctor Aziz I am not competent to speak. Perhaps he is an emancipated Indian. Whether he is or no, he has more flavor to him than the Anglo-Saxon.

One would scarcely expect Mr. Forster, the seasoned novelist, to give us a book at all, if this were all he had to offer. He has assiduously avoided the elements most favored of good raconteurs. There is not the ghost of anything erotic here, sex is wholly absent. The glamor of military action is deftly removed so that, although a young rebellion ensues on the court trial, there is not the flash of a sabre nor mention of a shot. The author has also not taken that opposite tack: has not turned his microscope inward upon some intricacy of human nature. What he has undertaken is something in a way impersonal. If our interpretation of his title and theme is correct, he has held the mirror up to the life of a very varied country, which he has viewed steadily, certainly, if not wholly. He is not talking about Turton or Burton or even Fielding, but about India. And be it noted, it is this time an India which most of us have not read about. There is but a small cross section shown: save for the events of the last few pages, everything transpires in one spot, a dirty town which revels in its natural way of doing things and is but little washed by the wave of civilization that reaches its doors.

Here it might be well to say that Mr. Forster's real contribution in this book is a viewpoint. British himself, he yet succeeds in showing the world from the angle of the Indian. It is not to be inferred therefrom that he is feeding fuel to the fire of non-coöperation. Whatever use the malcontents may make of the novel, it does not impress us at this distance from the scene as propagandic. Certainly it is far from fiery. The author has a touch of India's most telling contribution to the world, philosophy, and while he is holding up the mirror of life, he himself is rather on the banks of that troubled stream and if he moves with the current at all, he, like his favorite character, "travels light." Human frailties are not excoriated by him. Bad humor does not spoil the delicious irony that plays over the just and the unjust alike; while he leads our sympathies to

the natives rather than the intruding race, he does not idealize them. Nowhere could one find better confirmation of Kipling's characterization of native qualities—"All along o' dirtiness, all along o' mess, all along o' doin' things-rather-more-or-less." As for the English, what an enlightening touch that Fielding, the independent who did not see red when race friction arose, is fast becoming the hard boiled Anglo-Indian official at the end of the tale.

A Passage to India is a vivid book. It is interesting for its absence of the conventional tricks of the novel, but even more so for its positive impression.

H. W. PUCKETT.

Columbia University.

WILLIAM MASON, A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CULTURE. By John W. Draper. New York: The New York University Press, 1924. Pp. x, 397.

A competent study of William Mason has been long needed. He was, to be sure, only a minor figure in his century, yet it would be difficult to find another eighteenth century character about whom a wider variety of opinion and fact could be assembled. His interests were so varied, his friends so distinguished, and the information about him so extensive and from so many sources, that the present work is indeed adequately sub-titled as "a study in eighteenth-century culture." Mason in his literary work touched Spenserian and Miltonic imitations, odes, satires, didactic verse, biographical and historical writing, and plays, virtually exhausting the literary forms of his day, with the notable exception of the novel. He found time from his duties as a busy clergyman to become proficient, 'to the degree of his powers,' in painting, music, and gardening. In short, he was the typical cultivated man of his day.

Professor Draper has placed all eighteenth century scholars under obligation. He has brought out new facts about Mason's life, and has considered meticulously every interest, literary and artistic, of his subject. A less cautious investigator could easily have become unduly enthusiastic about his hero, but Mr. Draper never forgets that William Mason was, after all, a

commonplace figure, none of whose attainments ever entirely escaped mediocrity. A less skilful adjuster of ideas and comment would have buried his hero in the prodigious mass of footnotes here assembled. But thanks to the easy style, the frequent summaries, and the adequate sense of proportion, Mason emerges much as his own generation must have seen him, a busy parson interested in a variety of literary and artistic forms, and understanding no more than his contemporaries the bewildering forces which were already at work. We can see, as his own day could not, that curious blend of impulses, that "tendency to order one's actions with Neo-classical regularity, and one's emotions with Romantic unrestraint."

The book is well made and conveniently arranged, with useful appendices, bibliographies, and index. The impedimenta of scholarship are on the whole managed gracefully enough. There are minor imperfections, such as occasional repetitions, some clumsy footnotes, and a misspelling or two. But the book much more than atones for these slight faults in the wealth of information it presents.

R. P. McCUTCHEON.

Wake Forest College.

THE RISE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON. By F. A. Simpson. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925. Pp. 384.

Actors who have played striking roles on the stage of public affairs, have usually had to wait many years for a fair, unbiased, and complete history of their careers. Louis Napoleon has been no exception to this rule. Before the Revolution of 1848 no one but his friends and supporters took him seriously enough to write his biography. After the *coup d'état* all books published in France were at least polite if not actually laudatory in their treatment of the Emperor. After the downfall of the empire the great majority of French writers waxed almost hysterical in their abuse of Napoleon III. For many years no convenient and adequate biography of Louis Napoleon appeared.

The author of the volume under review has made considerable progress toward filling this gap in the historiography of the nineteenth century. From his able pen have come so far

two volumes on the career of Napoleon III. The present volume treats of the rise of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of France. Another work gives the story of the recovery of France. It is to be hoped that this Napoleonic trilogy will be completed by a volume on the decline and fall of the second empire.

The period covered by *The Rise of Louis Napoleon* is at the same time the least known and the most romantic in the life of the emperor. The present work covers the ground with considerable thoroughness and fullness. The question of his parentage, his early training, his relations to the Carbonari and the revolution of 1830 in Italy, his political apprenticeship, his relations with women, the Strassburg and Boulogne affairs, his imprisonment at Ham, his visit to America, his literary activity, and his election to the National Assembly and to the presidency of the Second French Republic for the first time are adequately treated in English.

The conclusions of the author make almost no change in the broad outlines of the subject, but the work clarifies and explains many details in the early career of Napoleon III. Mr. Simpson has no doubt that the king of Holland and not a Dutch admiral was the father of Louis Napoleon. The generous and courageous intervention of the future emperor and his older brother in the rising of 1831 at Bologna are comparatively unknown. His industry and talent as a writer are not generally appreciated. Neither are the alarm of the Orleanist monarchy nor the closeness of Louis Napoleon to success at the time of the Strassburg rising usually realized. Probably the most valuable contribution of the biography is the skilful presentation of the forces and conditions which molded the character of Louis Napoleon and made possible his rise.

The Rise of Louis Napoleon is a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with Napoleon III. Every chapter gives evidence of the care taken by the author to inform himself thoroughly. The work is likewise well-organized and well-written. Finally the narrative is supplemented by a considerable body of source material and by a bibliography that is a model of its kind.

C. P. HIGBY.

University of North Carolina.

GERHART HAUPTMANN. AUSBLICKE. GEDICHTE, ERZAEHLUNGEN UND DRAMATISCHES AUS DEN VERSCHIEDENSTEN SCHAFFENZEITEN UND FORMENSPHAEREN DES DICHTERS. Berlin: S. Fischer. 1924.

Gerhart Hauptmann has reminded us many times of Victor Hugo, and recent reports of certain futile and not entirely dignified public appearances of his recalled again the French poet-prophet who proved not to be a statesman. The collection of aphorisms which form the first hundred pages of the new volume,—not even mentioned on the jacket, but much more important than the poems, the scraps of novels and dramas which follow,—are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this delicate poet who has chosen sometimes to be a brutal naturalist and nearly all the rest of the time to be a cloudy philosopher. The modest pronouncement "He who disowns my dramas disowns his own humanity," reminds us of Professor Heller's demure quotation of Nietzsche's comment on Wagner, *à propos* the Hauptmann of twenty years ago: "I believe it often happens that artists do not realize what they are best able to do because they are too vain." Yet vanity is not quite the word for Hauptmann. There is nothing of shallow self-pride, of fatuous elation, in his thought of himself. He has himself given us a better word, in another of these aphorisms: "There is a blind obstinacy which takes itself for strength and is taken for strength by others. . . ."—"Es gibt einen blinden Eigensinn. . . ." We nearly always feel in him a somber, determined egoism, pushing always a Sisyphus weight of popular stupidity and indifference. Cries his painter-hero Michael Kramer: "The artist is your real hermit!" If Gerhart Hauptmann should ever cease to be misunderstood and mishandled, his mission on earth would be ended.

Hugo, the inspired lyricist, achieved great if short-lived success with the theater, reached epic heights in the novel, and all his life long thundered condescending prophecy which the world sometimes failed to accept in the spirit in which it was sent. All this has been true of Hauptmann. But his dearest love is the drama. And why should an unrelenting egoist, a man who will think of nothing and write of nothing but himself, not write for the stage, if it be true that a play is but "the ego split once, twice, thrice, four times, five times, or oftener?"

But only two or three of the earlier dramas, thickly peppered with naturalism at the psychological moment in the history of the German stage, attained any great popularity with the theater-going public, which wearied of the split ego of the later efforts. Hauptmann is a poet, a pleasant minor singer when he condescends to be, less satisfying but often imposing when he beats the big bass drum. He loves his art as passionately and faithfully as true knight ever loved his lady. His tributes to art in the new volume are fine and thrilling. We are almost with him in his contention that art has been the only thoroughgoing influence for tolerance in history. We are impressed by his conviction that art which moralizes is not art,—but what does this do for half of Hauptmann's own work? And as we think back over a succession of fantastic dramas and bewildering quasi-novels, which on the whole we liked, we agree that "Consciousness of much chaos is wisdom." The world has not as yet wriggled entirely free from the womb of Chaos and Old Night; and till she does, we must expect some cloudiness in our poets.

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TRAGEDY. By W. MacNeile Dixon. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924. Pp. viii, 228.

In a series of forty-two chapters, most of them very short and some of only a couple of pages, Professor Dixon undertaken a bold, first-hand interpretation of the concept of tragedy. The brevity of the chapters is a temptation to dipping here and there, but the whole volume must be read through continuously first, for it contains a well-knit unity. Afterwards one may resavor *ad lib.*: and will inevitably do so, since nearly every chapter repays further reading and reflection.

We begin with the old query, why the witnessing of human misfortune should give us pleasure. But this is easily dismissed as a primarily hedonistic problem; tragedy gives us something far greater and deeper than pleasure, and furthermore there is all possible difference between human misfortune in the world as we know it and in the tragedy which is art. The crude theory of malevolence is still more easily dismissed. Then,

after a preliminary consideration of classic, or Greek, and romantic, or Elizabethan, tragedy and an aside on the mediæval mystery cycles, we come, in the chapter on Marlowe and Shakespeare, to grips with our subject. Here we enter the dark forest of uncertainty where all the inescapable questions of character and destiny, fate and freedom, beset us. Again we pause, for an historical interlude of uncommonly suggestive analysis of certain aspects of Attic drama; and once more return to the problem of evil, which is the poet's tragic problem. Thereafter the limitations of Aristotle, who usually stands in the forefront of discussions of tragedy, are soundly presented; finally, the views in turn of Hume, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche.

The world is crowded with mishap and pain: how shall we account for all this evil? There are many answers, all incomplete. Revealed religion throws us back on a beneficent Creator and Ruler whose wisdom is undoubtable though inscrutable. Moralistic philosophy points to the tragic flaw in each man's character—Macbeth's ambition, Lear's rashness, Brutus' good intentions, and so on. The soul is weak, like the flesh it inhabits. Others find man helplessly caught in the unintelligible machinery of the world; his most earnest loyalty and devoted efforts bring him disaster (as with Job); his faith is but a crutch; he is after all but a plaything of the Immortals. We cling rather pathetically to causality, lest without it all should be lost. But this is only our human pride, nay, arrogance; our confession that we cannot "endure the incomprehensible." Yet the poet, who gives us a more honest and faithful reading of life than the philosophers or the theologians, must even endure, augre his sympathy and his will to enlighten. Absorbed as we common men are in a moralistic interpretation of existence, rather morbidly self-conscious of our individual souls and the supreme importance of saving them, we sometimes resent any other attitude, which we should be inclined to call pagan; but only after rejecting a "pusillanimous ethic" based too easily on implicit faith (and often on nothing at all) can we meet the problems of the tragic as the poets have faced them.—This is, I think, the essence of Professor Dixon's volume. His interest is less æsthetic than philosophic, and

philosophic less perhaps as regards the art of tragedy than as regards the question of life's harshness and confusion. He ends with a guarded optimism: ". . . Meanwhile, *gente est nostre bataille*."—*gente*, to be sure, but the last word is *bataille*.

The book is genuinely important. Beyond its philosophy of the tragic, which one may accept or not, it has a great deal that is suggestive and illuminating, both in detail and in the large. There is a fearless gallantry about it, a subtlety without irony, a questioning without mockery. Read it!

PAUL F. BAUM.

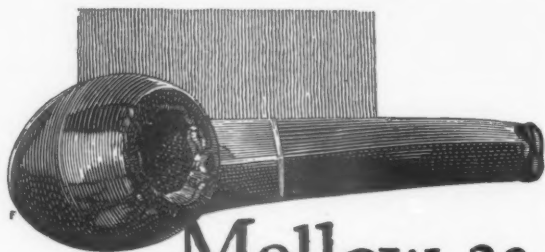
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